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Abstract

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Disciplines

Ancient History, Greek and Roman through Late Antiquity | Archaeological Anthropology

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EXCAVATIONS IN THE ARCHAIC CIVIC BUILDINGS AT AZORIA IN 2005–2006

ABSTRACT

Continuing excavation on the South Acropolis at Azoria in northeastern Crete has exposed buildings of Archaic date (7th–early 5th century B.C.) that served communal or public functions. Work conducted in 2005 and 2006 completed the exploration of Late Archaic levels within the Communal Dining Building (putative *andreion* complex), the Monumental Civic Building, and the adjacent Service Building. These contexts and their assemblages, especially the animal and plant remains, permit the characterization of diverse dining practices and the interpretation of patterns of food production and consumption. Both the Communal Dining Building and the Monumental Civic Building show extensive evidence of communal feasting and the integration of cult.

INTRODUCTION

Excavations have been conducted since 2002 at the site of Azoria, southeast of the village of Kavousi in northeastern Crete. Work has recovered public buildings of Archaic date, clustered near the peak on the west and south sides of the South Acropolis and covering a total area of over 0.60 ha (Fig. 1). Each building produced evidence of destruction and abandonment in the early 5th century B.C. This destruction marks the end of a long period of occupation, beginning in the early 6th century, that followed a transitional phase characterized by nucleation of population, reorganization of public and private space, and the appearance of new forms of domestic and public architecture and assemblages.¹

Although we have not yet established a certain date for the foundation of all of the Archaic structures so far excavated on the site, wherever stratigraphy is exposed, the construction date appears to fall in the early 6th century.² This date constitutes the latest terminus post quem for a threshold of large-scale rebuilding on the site, and it fits reasonably well with evidence elsewhere on Crete, which would indicate a date at the end of the 7th century (630–600 B.C.) for widespread changes in burial practices and settlement mobility, and the foundation or transformation of poleis on the island.³

1. Haggis et al. 2004, pp. 390–393; 2007a, pp. 243, 301–305; 2007b, pp. 665–666, 707–708. For patterns elsewhere in the Aegean, see Lang 1996; 2007, esp. pp. 183–190; Osborne 1996, pp. 161–214; Morris 1998, p. 73.

2. In some soundings, however, the latest pottery recovered is dated to the 7th century. On the chronological issues, see Haggis et al., forthcoming; Haggis et al., in prep.

3. See Kotsonas 2002, esp. pp. 53–54. Erickson (2009, esp. pp. 378–384) has linked the articulation of the territorial expansion of Praios with the earliest votive assemblages at Roussa Ekklesia and other rural shrines.



Figure 1. Aerial view of Azoria from the southwest. Photo M. Bridges (2008)

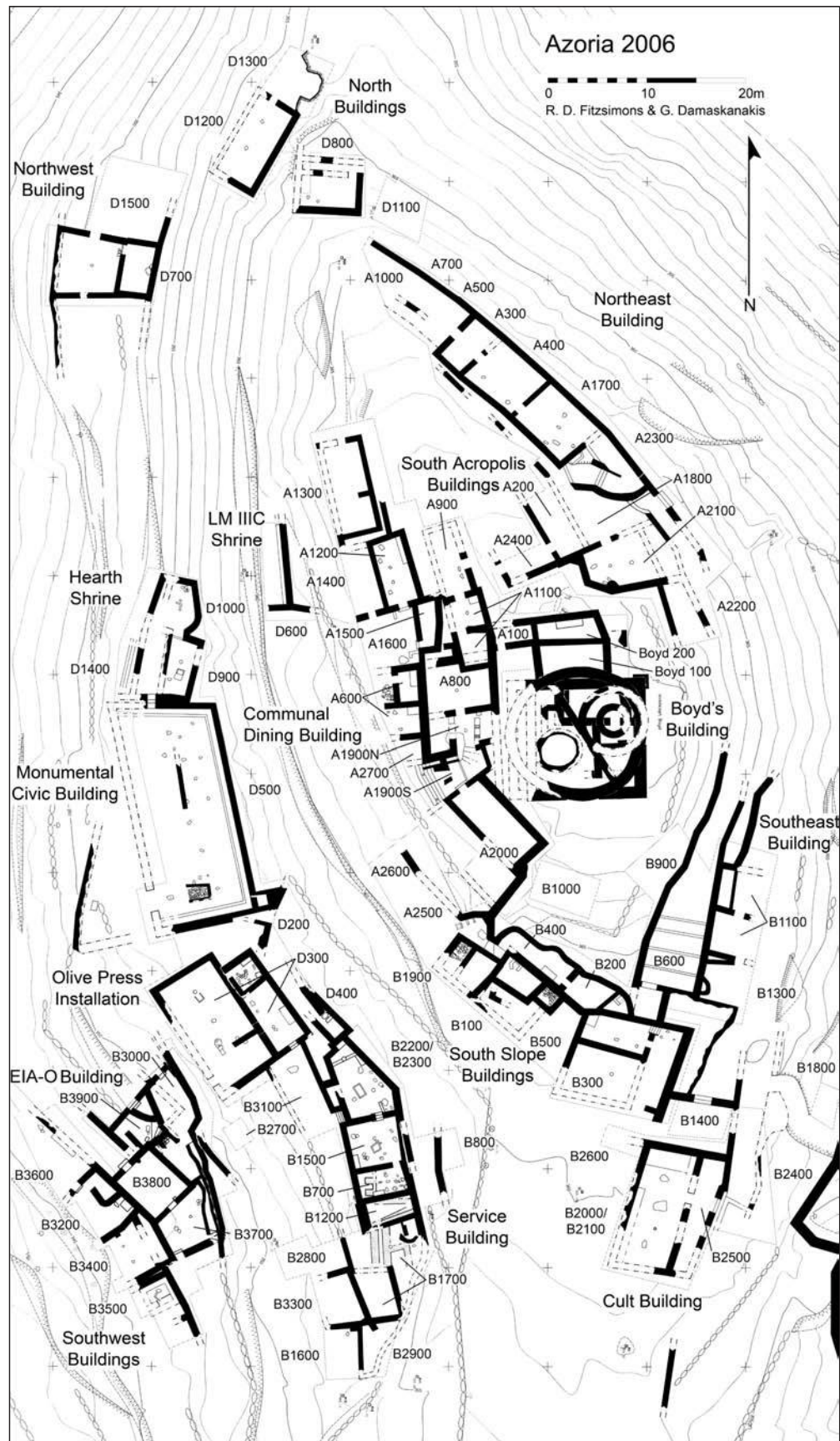
Figure 2 (*opposite*). Azoria, state plan of the South Acropolis. R. D. Fitzsimons and G. Damaskanakis

At Azoria, this important transition is marked by the construction of megalithic spine walls that imprinted the basic Archaic plan, shaped the pattern of construction and communication within the settlement, and formed the armature if not the foundations for civic buildings.⁴ The Archaic buildings thus conform to the overall plan and structured topography of the spine walls throughout the 6th and early 5th centuries. There is no stratigraphic evidence of linear or concentric growth of structures over time. Building forms remain fixed from the time of their construction until abandonment, and though there is evidence of room modifications and some buildup of occupation surfaces, the clay and bedrock floors were evidently reused continuously throughout the life of the settlement until the early 5th century.⁵

The Archaic rebuilding of the site expanded the settlement to its maximum size (ca. 15 ha) and created a zone of public buildings on the upper west slope of the South Acropolis (Figs. 1, 2). We use the term “public” to describe generally suprahousehold communal spaces accommodating a variety of possible activities and configurations of groups. It is important to remember, however, that activities will have varied in their degree of inclusivity, and that the nature of public participation itself is determined by specific social contexts—or even singular events—of collective interaction and performance, many of which may escape the coarse resolution of archaeological

4. Haggis et al. 2007a, pp. 263–265.

5. For discussion of architectural modifications, see Haggis et al. 2007a, pp. 274, 277, 288.



detection.⁶ The construction of these public buildings at Azoria formalized what can be called civic architecture. Although we lack historical documentation of Azoria's "civic" identity—namely, an inscription identifying the city—we think that evidence of new building practices, the reorganization of communal and domestic space, and changes in the agropastoral economy and suprahousehold activities are material reflections of social configurations in keeping with a civic status and an urban environment.⁷

The public buildings are the Communal Dining Building (putative *andreion*) on the upper west slope; the Monumental Civic Building and the Service Building on the southwest slope; and the Cult Building on the south (Figs. 1, 2). The Cult Building, which we presented in detail in an earlier report, is poorly preserved.⁸ As a result of the shallowness of deposition, later Hellenistic (late 3rd–2nd century B.C.) activity in the area, and recent deep plowing on the south slope of the South Acropolis, the building's foundation and floor surfaces have been severely damaged. Given the size and features of the building, however, and its location in a wide and level area near the main access to the hilltop, on the edge of a major street running north–south on the east side of the South Acropolis, we think that the structure may have served as the settlement's main temple. The three other structures—the Communal Dining Building, the Monumental Civic Building, and the associated Service Building—have been the focus of ongoing excavation. In 2005 and 2006 we completed work in these areas, augmenting considerably our information on their functions and the role of civic architecture in the Archaic city.

THE COMMUNAL DINING BUILDING

In our earlier reports, we referred to the Communal Dining Building as the "putative *andreion*" or "*andreion* complex." We tentatively proposed using the term *andreion* as a compelling historical analogy that offered a conceptual framework for the interpretation of assemblages that suggest the functions of a communal dining hall in an Archaic Cretan urban context (Figs. 1, 3).⁹ The term suggested attributes and activities that find material correlates in the Communal Dining Building at Azoria: the suprahousehold centralized mobilization, storage, and processing of food and drink; the performance of sacrifices as part of feasting behavior; the display, storage, or use of armor; and the organization of segmented, if not segregated, communal dining and structured symposia.¹⁰

6. Sjögren's (2007, p. 149) recent interrogation of the terminology in Cretan contexts argues that "public" space was openly accessible to the community, while "communal" should indicate degrees of exclusive participation. Although the usefulness of the semantic distinction is perhaps open to question, the degree of accessibility to any social space in any urban sphere (domestic, civic, cultic, and mortuary) is dependent upon context.

7. On epigraphic proximity and the civic status of the Dreros "agora," see Perlman 2000, p. 73; Haggis et al. 2004, pp. 340–346; 2007a, pp. 243, 301–305. Hansen (1997, pp. 15–17) has argued that in Archaic cities, there was no "civic space" per se, that is, no political architecture used exclusively by a narrowly defined citizen class. He calls attention to the fluid nature of public space in Greek cities, which was, before the Classical period, roughly formed

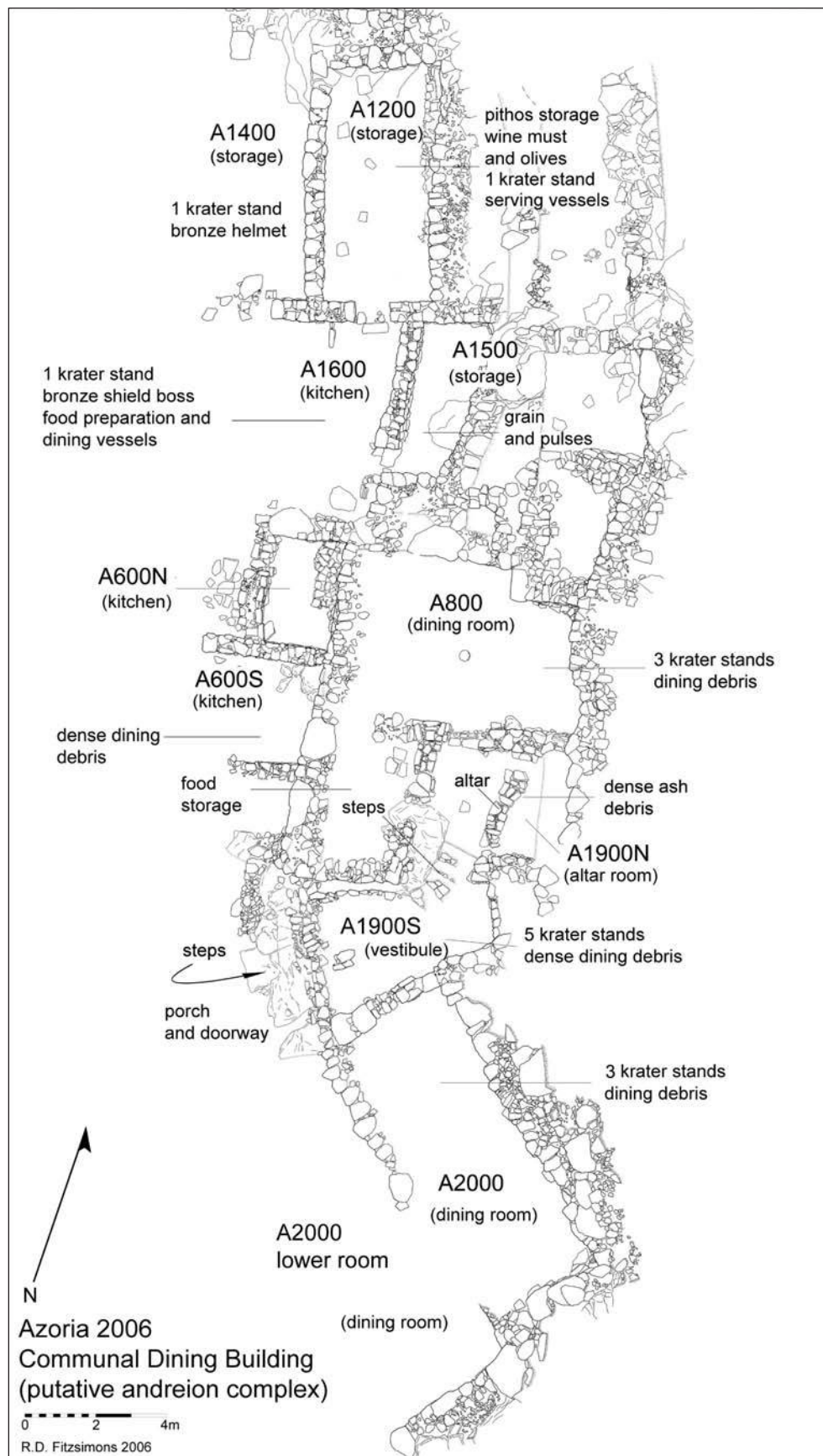
Figure 3 (*opposite*). State plan of the Communal Dining Building.
R. D. Fitzsimons

and variable in function depending on context and specific activity, and not defined by the presence of consistently identifiable types of buildings.

8. Haggis et al. 2007a, pp. 269–273.

9. Haggis et al. 2004, pp. 367–393; 2007a, pp. 253–265.

10. See Haggis et al. 2004, p. 387, for a statement of the hypothesis, and Haggis et al. 2007a, p. 263, on the rationale for using the term.



Our use of this term has been challenged, mainly on the grounds that our identification of the structure as an *andreion* was based on inferences about the building's function and not on epigraphic evidence.¹¹ Indeed, the archaeological identification of *andreia* is a vexing issue: uncertainty about the correspondence between structure and function is compounded by uncertainty about how *andreia* operated in Archaic Crete.¹² Although we know that *andreia* were physical places, indeed actual buildings, in some Archaic Cretan cities,¹³ too few post-7th-century contexts on the island have been sufficiently or properly explored to allow us to begin to define such spaces archaeologically or epigraphically.¹⁴ Nevertheless, contexts of 8th- and 7th-century date, such as the early hearth temples at Dreros and Prinias, have commonly been referred to as *andreia*, leading to a lively, if historically problematic, discussion of the nature of early Cretan political organization and its relationship to contexts of public commensality and ritualized dining.¹⁵ The term itself has become something of a historiographic artifact, applied widely—though not indiscriminately—to Bronze Age, Early Iron Age, Archaic, and Hellenistic contexts.

Thus we recognize that using the term *andreion* as a model or historical analogy for the interpretation of archaeological contexts is potentially reductive, because it may codify the attribution and cloud the complex regional, historical, and cultural implications of both historically attested institutions and the archaeological remains. Because *andreion* suggests aspects of local, regional, or ethnic societal structures that may elude the middle-range interpretive frameworks normally derived from archaeology, we find it preferable to use a term that alludes to the functional components of the building and to the material patterns recovered in this archaeological context.¹⁶ Consequently, we have chosen to refer to the putative *andreion* as the Communal Dining Building. Our purpose here is to present work conducted in 2005 and 2006 in rooms A1900N and A1900S, summarize the various components of the building exposed to date, and develop inferences on the structuring of groups around distinctive patterns of communal drinking and dining.

11. The external *Hesperia* reviewers advised caution in using the name of historically attested sociopolitical institutions and buildings in archaeological contexts lacking definitive and in situ epigraphical evidence. Cf. Westgate 2007, p. 453, and Sjögren 2008, p. 83.

12. For discussion of problems with the archaeology of *andreia*, see Sjögren 2008, pp. 83–84, and Whitley 2009a, pp. 289–291. See also Perlman 2000, p. 59 (cf. Sjögren 2008, pp. 45–46), on the dependence on inscriptions in the study of Archaic Crete; and Perlman 1992 and 2005 on the potential diversity of forms of sociopolitical organization across the island. Sjögren (2008, p. 83), following Lavrencic 1988, visu-

alizes *andreia* as reflecting a form of sociopolitical organization rather than a specific architectural form.

13. Perlman 2002, p. 206, on *IC* IV 4; Whitley 2009a, p. 290, contra Sjögren 2008, p. 83. See Link 1994, p. 18, on problems of the organization of space in *andreia*.

14. See Perlman 2000, p. 59, on the paucity of explored 6th- and 5th-century archaeological contexts on Crete.

15. Carter 1997; Koehl 1997; Shaw 2000b, pp. 687–688, 705; Sjögren 2001, p. 91; 2003, pp. 61–64; Prent 2005, esp. pp. 451–454; Day 2009, p. 62. For recent critical discussion, see Prent 2007.

16. Perlman 2005, esp. pp. 309–311; 2010, p. 104; Whitley 2009b, p. 726.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

The Communal Dining Building was constructed on two parallel terraces on the upper west slope of the South Acropolis (Figs. 1–3). On the lower level a series of three storerooms (A1200, A1400, and A1500)¹⁷ were connected directly to the main kitchen (A1600), which was equipped with a large, flat embedded quern in the southeast corner, and a variety of cooking, serving, and dining implements, including a krater stand fragment, hydrias, jugs, cups, skyphoi, large lamps, chytrai, a transport amphora, and a pithos.¹⁸ Other finds in A1600 included a bronze pin, ring, and shield boss, as well as an imported Thasian skyphos and an Attic lekythos. Plant remains from the two preserved adjacent storerooms suggest the careful organization and segregation of foodstuffs. Wine must with lees (including pips, skins, and stems) as well as olives were stored in the pithoi in A1200, and cereal grains and pulses in A1500.¹⁹

South of this main kitchen (A1600) are two smaller kitchens (A600N and A600S) aligned with the contour. The access to the smaller kitchens may have been through a corridor or courtyard leading directly south from A1600, or from a street along the west side of the building, but extreme erosion on the western edge of the terrace confounds reconstruction. It is likely that other rooms of the complex extended out to the west along the contour, conceivably doubling the size of the building (and of the rooms for dining) as preserved today. While the northernmost of the two small kitchens (A600N) had largely been cleaned of its contents, save for a small saddle quern and traces of grape, olive, wheat, pulse, fig, and poppy embedded in the floor surface, the southernmost room (A600S) was apparently abandoned and used as a dump in its last phase, collecting a considerable amount of discarded food debris that may well have been derived from adjacent dining rooms on the upper terrace. The bulk of the food debris consisted of animal bones (dressed cuts of meat) and marine shells, but there were also grape pips, olive pits, and almond shells, a range of foods consistent with those of the storerooms and active kitchens.²⁰

The upper terrace is accessible from the kitchens via a wide stairway and porch that opens onto a vestibule (A1900S) that served to mediate access to a large dining hall on the south (A2000) and two other rooms on the north (A1900N and A800); another long room of slightly larger dimensions was partially excavated immediately west and along the side of A2000, but on a lower level (Fig. 3). The largest of the northern rooms, A800, contained several large terracotta krater stands, while the southern room (A1900N) produced a stone-built bench with a series of platforms that we think was a ground altar.²¹ The physical separation of areas of food preparation and consumption was probably motivated by the practicalities of large-scale storage, preparation, and communal dining; however, it might also reflect the formal, if not ceremonial, movement of food from kitchen areas on the lower level to the dining halls above.

The purpose of work in 2005 and 2006 was to complete the excavation of the porch and vestibule in A1900S, and to expose the floor and features of A1900N, clarifying the form and function of the stone bench (Figs. 3, 4). The vestibule comprises a single trapezoid-shaped space, some 3.5 m wide at the entrance on the west, narrowing down to about 2 m on the east; it is

17. Haggis et al. 2004, pp. 373–378.

18. Haggis et al. 2007a, pp. 259–263.

19. On the material indications of wine lees, see Margaritis and Jones 2006.

20. For the initial discussion of the animal bones and other food debris from the Communal Dining Building (*andreion* complex), see Haggis et al. 2004, pp. 383–386.

21. Haggis et al. 2004, pp. 379–382; 2007a, pp. 253–256.

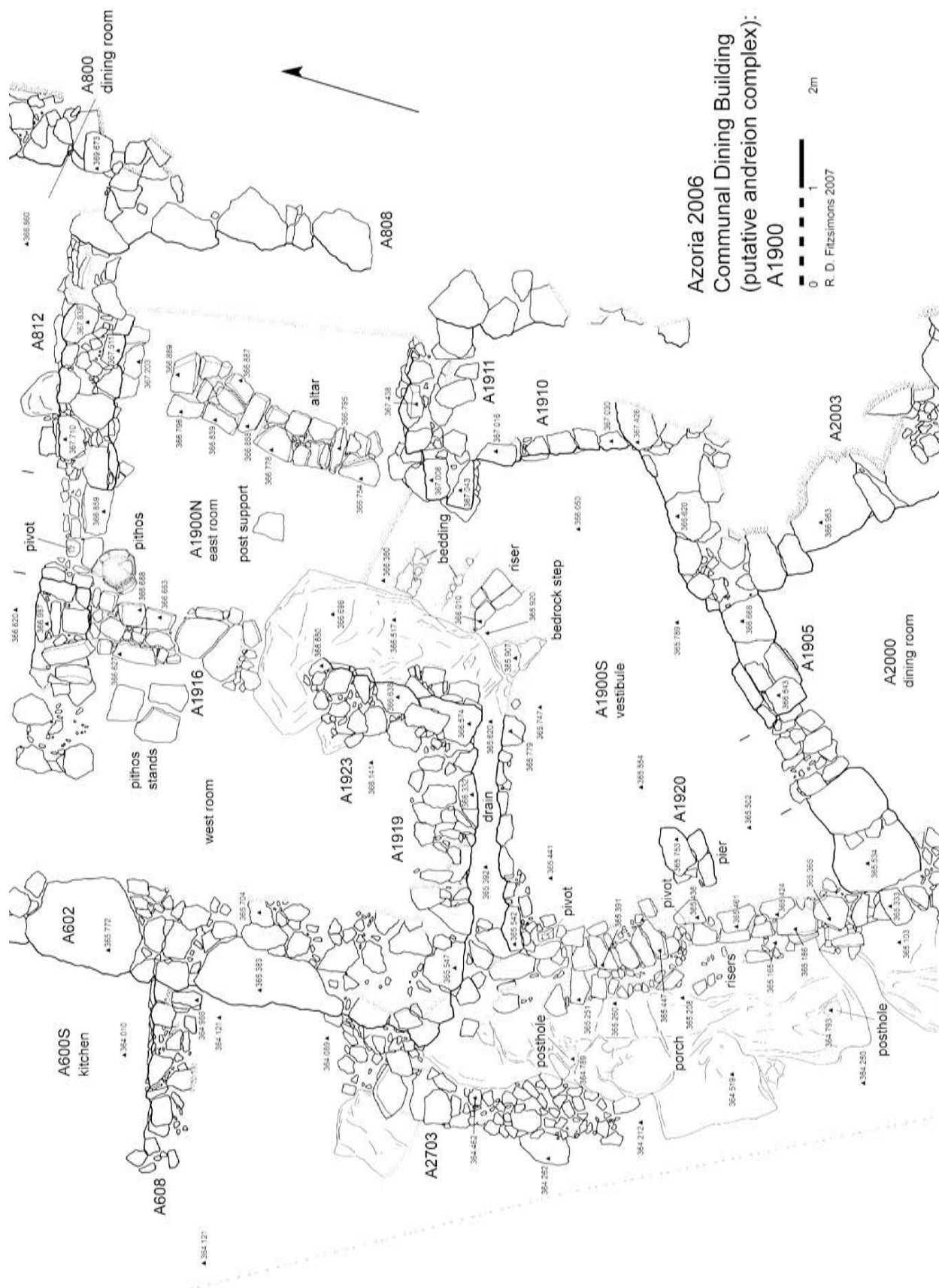


Figure 4. Plan of A1900. R. D. Fitzsimons

bordered by a wide stone-lined drain along the north side, and on the south, by the entrance to the dining room (A2000). It is entered through a porch and double doors at the top of a stairway on the west. The surviving steps and postholes for the overhang of the porch were first discovered in 2004, but excavation in 2005 exposed the upper two rows of risers, running along the full width of the porch, and gave greater definition to the architecture of the doorway, which included a stone-built pier marking the transition into the vestibule (Fig. 4: A1920). This pier supported the clay roof of the vestibule on the west and what we reconstruct as an overhang, probably of wood, extending out over the steps of the porch.

The pier separated two large wooden doors, whose pivots were found inside the upper set of risers: the pivot for the southern door is situated in front (west) of the pier, and the one for the northern door is just south of the mouth of the drain (Fig. 4). Their position indicates that each door would have been almost 1.5 m wide from pivot to doorjamb. This double-door arrangement, so far unparalleled on the site, is interesting in its unusual width, structural complexity, and formal elaboration. The doorway gave access to the vestibule and from there to rooms on the north and south. Given the upward slope of the floor of the vestibule from west to east, the doors opened outward to the west and away from the pier.

The floor of the vestibule was constructed of hard-packed clay on shaved bedrock. Although the surface was found to be worn and eroded on the east, the western portion was well preserved and littered with food and broken pottery, presumably swept from adjacent rooms (A800, A1900N, and A2000; Figs. 3, 4). Some material had evidently slid down the sloping floor of the vestibule into the porch area on both sides of the pier and over the top row of steps on the porch. The condition of the animal bones, marine shells, and seeds suggests discarded dining debris, similar to the contents of the dump in the south kitchen of A600.²² The area of the vestibule (A1900S) produced significant quantities of sheep, goat, and pig bone fragments, including both upper and lower limb elements. A number of scapula, humerus, innominate, and femur fragments represent high meat-value elements. Several samples exhibit cut or chop marks indicating the reduction of limb elements into pieces of meat.

In addition, marine shells were relatively plentiful in this context. The main deposit near the doorway produced 147 complete limpet shells (*Patella* sp.) and 27 top shells (*Monodonta*), as well as numerous shell fragments. The abundant marine shells and fish and sea urchin remains, together with high meat-value elements of sheep, goat, and pig, constitute an assemblage consistent with feasting debris found elsewhere in the building, including the substantial food dump in the abandoned kitchen to the west (A600S). Indeed, it is likely that the material in A1900S resulted from the periodic cleaning of the rooms of the upper terrace. The food debris was probably swept into the porch and drain from adjacent rooms, shoveled out onto the street in front of the porch, and ultimately gathered and deposited in the kitchen A600S, which had evidently fallen into disuse, becoming a midden by the time of the Late Archaic abandonment.

At the northeast corner of the vestibule, four steps were cut into the sloping bedrock to create an ascending passage to the eastern room of

22. For a detailed presentation of the food dump in A600S, see Haggis et al. 2004, pp. 383–386.

A1900N (Fig. 4), whose floor level is about 1 m higher than that of the western end of the vestibule. While the slope at this juncture is extremely eroded—only the beddings of steps are preserved—a well-fashioned riser of schist on the second step gives us an idea of how the original stairway might have looked. Excavation in the eastern room of A1900N removed a deep layer of wall collapse and roofing material, exposing a well-preserved floor surface, a schist post support in the center of the room, and an elongated stone-built bench, initially uncovered in 2004, that we are calling a ground altar (Figs. 4, 5). The east side of the room could not be fully explored because of the precarious position of the collapsed east wall; it was necessary to maintain a stepped scarp to retain the tipped wall. On the west side of the room, just west of the doorway into A800, are the remains of a north–south spur wall (A1916); a cut-bedrock threshold indicates access to a room on the eroded western edge of the terrace (Fig. 4). This western wall continues southward where it extends over a cut-bedrock bedding and then corners (A1923), forming the north wall of the vestibule and drain (A1919). In this poorly preserved western room in A1900N, we found traces of the floor surface only in the northeast corner (formed by walls A1916 and A812); elsewhere excavation exposed the gravel floor packing and cobble fill of the spine wall, eroding out of the sloping terrace. The only indications of the function of this space are flat *sideropetra* stones, possibly pithos stands. While no pithos was found in the western room, the base of a pithos was found in the northwest corner of the east room of A1900N, in front of the doorway into A800 (Fig. 4). A flotation sample from this floor packing produced traces of grain, pulse, olive, and grape, raising the possibility that this room was used for small-scale agricultural storage.

The floor of the preserved eastern room of A1900N (Fig. 4) was made of phyllite clay that had been layered in efforts to level off the bedrock, which now slopes sharply from northeast to southwest. The presence of the schist-slab post support and a deep layer of ceiling clay indicates that the space was originally roofed. On the east side of the room is the long benchlike installation noted above, whose form and associated finds indicate that it functioned as a ground altar (Fig. 5). It is a single oblong structure, 2.30 m in length, consisting of three one-course high platforms built of *sideropetra* and dolomite fieldstones. In spite of the irregular sloping terrain and erosion within the room, it is clear that the irregular blocks were originally fitted to shape three level and neatly rectangular platforms, each separated from the other by a divider or header stone that projected about 10 cm above the top surface of the adjacent platforms (Fig. 5). The northern and middle platforms each measure ca. 0.80 × 0.60 m (Figs. 4, 5). The southern platform is shorter, but only because of poor preservation; the end was badly damaged during the collapse of the megalithic east wall of the building, and the stones have shifted out of position because of erosion. The bench is built on a rise in the bedrock and a bedding of clay that elevate it slightly above the surrounding floor (Fig. 5). Excavation down to floor level on either side of the installation in 2006 produced concentrations of burned animal and plant remains.

In 2004 we had reached a level of occupation debris on the east side of the bench, where the bedrock rises in the northeast corner of the room. Here



Figure 5. A1900N: ground altar, from the west. Photo D. C. Haggis

we found considerable amounts of carbonized plant material, including olive, grape, fig, pistachio, and poppy, as well as grains and pulses.²³ In 2006 we exposed the floor surfaces on both the east and west sides (Fig. 4), finding deposits of powdery white and gray ash, and fragmentary unburned, burned, and calcined animal bones and burned seeds. The largest concentration of ash was found along the east side, and there were additional pockets of burned bone and ash immediately west of the northern end. Furthermore, the exposed rise in the dolomite bedrock floor bordering the east side was fractured and showed evidence of burning, suggesting repeated exposure to heat. While no burned debris was found directly on top of the bench, the proximity of the ash and bone on both sides (and its absence across the central area of the room) suggests that the material had been swept from the installation itself during periods of cleaning. Some burned material had evidently spilled onto the floor on the west side, but it appears as if most of the debris had been repeatedly collected and perhaps heaped or contained on the east side, that is, out of the path of foot traffic and activity in the central area of the room.

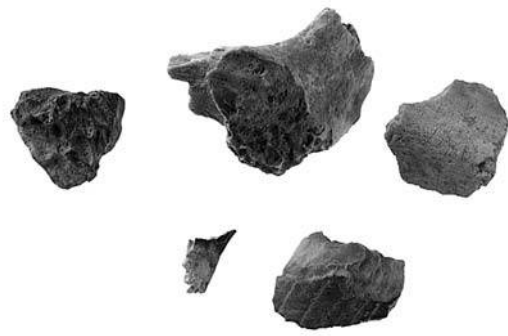
The carbonized plant remains from around the platforms produced the most varied assemblage of any room in the Communal Dining Building. Seeds identified thus far include olive, grape, almond, wheat, broad bean, vetch, fig, poppy, and possibly pistachio. The olive remains include entire pits and large fragments of pits derived from whole fruits. Small quantities of skins and stems along with larger quantities of grape pips suggest wine must with inclusion of lees.

The ash deposit from the west side of the platform (Fig. 6: A1931.4) contained a number of unburned pig bones, including first and second cervical vertebrae and maxilla segments, as well as a scapula segment with chop marks and a distal humerus, both indicative of food debris. There are also several unidentifiable bone fragments, three of which were completely burned. The heavy residue fraction from a flotation sample produced tiny unidentifiable burned and unburned animal bone fragments, including one burned sheep/goat innominate fragment. The material from the ash deposit

23. Haggis et al. 2007a, p. 255.



A1931.4 ISS2



A1933.1 ISS4

on the east side of the platforms (Fig. 6: A1933.1) was a mixture of unburned and partially burned sheep/goat and pig bone fragments representing both butchering and food debris. A pig scapula exhibits a partial chop and break through the scapular neck and another through the scapular blade, indicating the reduction of a large meat segment (shoulder) into smaller portions. Moreover, a sheep or goat scapula had a chop mark on the medial face, also probably resulting from the reduction of a meat portion. Samples derived from the quarter-inch screen and flotation produced numerous burned, partially burned, and heated (browned/partially blackened) bones, including a number of heavily burned and whitened fragments (Fig. 6). Among the latter are long bone diaphysis and cancellous tissue fragments, as well as sheep/goat cranial, tarsal, and innominate fragments. It is likely that these fragmentary and heavily burned pieces of bone represent sacrificial debris swept off the platform along with the ash.

Given the form of the structure and its associated remains, the bench in A1900N is thus most likely to represent a ground altar. The great diversity of seeds discovered is in keeping with first-fruits offerings of grain, fruit, and wine. The condition of the animal bones indicates clearly that pieces of meat, probably derived from segments prepared for roasting, were thrown into the fire and burned along with various plant foods and perhaps libations.

Ground altars show no formal consistency except that they are built low to the ground, normally constructed one course high above floor level; some have dividing stones, platforms of various levels, and repositories for ash and bone debris. If designed principally for chthonian offerings, the type overlaps in form and function with hearth altars.²⁴ A roughly contemporary example from the interior of the shrine at Vroulia on Rhodes has a long row of slabs with no border. It is similar in dimensions to the Azoria altar, but is punctuated at the center by a single raised platform.²⁵ At Vroulia, while no ash was recovered from on top of the platform itself, an adjacent pit was filled with burned bone and charcoal, evidently refuse from the altar. The practice of sweeping debris from altars, allowing it to collect on the adjacent floor surface, and then collecting an overflow of debris in pits, bins, or corners of rooms is also common in hearth temples on the island. The 4th-century ground altar at Selinus, west of the

Figure 6. A1900N: burned bone from the ash deposits around the ground altar. Scale 2:1. Photo C. Papanikolopoulos

24. Yavis 1949, pp. 55, 59–60, 66–67, 130–131, 199; Hellmann 2006, esp. pp. 126–128.

25. Kinch 1914, cols. 8–12; Yavis 1949, pp. 65–67.

6th-century Temple of Zeus Meilichios, has two low platforms, open at the sides, that are separated by an upright slab and bordered by slabs at both ends.²⁶ While this example is constructed of very regular dressed blocks of stone, the open sides and the use of uprights to separate the platforms (presumably to contain separate offerings or debris) is roughly similar to, if more elaborate than, the configuration at Azoria.

Another example of a possible ground altar, closer in time and place to the example at Azoria, is the so-called temple or *andreion* on the western hill at Dreros.²⁷ Here a vestibule (*pronaos*) appears to lead up to a main hall (*sekos*) that had an open-ended rectangular container with ash and charcoal, next to a one-course-high paved platform, some 3.0 m in length.²⁸ The excavator interpreted the platform as an altar (*bomos*), while the container of ash he called a hearth, using both the terms *eschara* and *hestia*.²⁹ From the drawing and description, the altar seems to have been constructed of two parallel rows of irregular pavers forming an elongated rectangle, open on three sides. The formal simplicity of the Dreros installation appears to be typical of ground altars, as does the repository for burned debris.³⁰

FORM AND FUNCTION

The Communal Dining Building at Azoria was a sprawling complex of at least 10 rooms situated prominently on the upper west slope of the South Acropolis (Fig. 3). In its original condition, it would have displayed rather imposing megalithic facades with boulders on both the northern and southern ends of the upper terrace, with equally substantial spine walls exposed on the inner faces of each of the terraces.³¹ Furthermore, the transition between the two levels was an elaborate porch with a wide stairway and double doors, accommodating considerable foot traffic and potentially large numbers of people; embellishments of this sort are unparalleled in domestic contexts at Azoria. The position of a dining room (A2000) near the western end of the vestibule suggests accessibility, but its narrow doorway also afforded a degree of privacy from the main traffic areas. Access to A800, the large square room where three well-preserved krater stands were found, was yet more restricted, controlled via a wooden door, and accessible only through the altar room (A1900N; Figs. 3, 4).

In contrast, the activities of the altar room would have been essentially open to the vestibule, easily visible from A1900S through an approximately 2.0-m-wide passage (Fig. 4). The elevated position of the ground altar and its prominent location immediately to the right of this passage suggest

26. Yavis 1949, pp. 130–131, 134, 199.

27. Xanthoudides (1918) was convinced that the building on the west hill at Dreros was the city's temple to Apollo; Viviers (1994, pp. 244–249), following Marinatos (1936, p. 254), revisited the evidence, arguing that it might have functioned better as an *andreion*. See also Haggis et al. 2004, pp. 389–390; Prent 2005, pp. 283–284,

385–386, 441–476; Perlman 2010, p. 101. Prent (2007, pp. 141–142) includes this structure in her list of hearth temples.

28. Xanthoudides 1918, pp. 24–28. The plan, function, and chronology of the temple may need to be revised pending the results of current excavations by the 24th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities and the French School at Athens

(V. Zographaki and A. Farnoux).

29. Xanthoudides 1918, p. 26.

30. Shaw (2000a, pp. 26–28) describes the various simple stone platforms associated with Altar U and the double-hearth altar in the court of Temple B at Kommos.

31. Haggis et al. 2007a, pp. 263–265; poor preservation unfortunately precludes precise reconstruction of the building's western facade.

that it was meant to be seen and visited by anyone permitted to enter the upper-terrace dining rooms. Given its location and the diversity of burned food debris, we imagine that it would have been used for regular offerings associated with dining. Although we do not know the function of the sacrifices or their intended recipients, they were probably chthonian, given the wide range of food offerings, the character of the burned bone debris, and the low-bench form of the altar.³²

Although we are still studying the distribution of artifacts across the two terraces, some interesting patterns have emerged (Fig. 3). Dining debris, consisting of food remains and drinking and pouring vessels, was concentrated in the porch and vestibule (A1900S), the abandoned kitchen (A600S), and the dining rooms (A800 and A2000). While not as well preserved as faunal material from the dump deposits in A1900S or A600S, discarded food debris dominated the floor assemblage from A800 as well, suggesting that it too was used for dining. Sheep/goat and pig are represented in this room principally by meaty limb-bone elements and rib segments. A number of sheep or goat bones exhibit chop marks at mid-diaphysis, while cut marks on joint elements (radial carpal) indicate separation of the leg at the joint, with further reduction of the meat segment by chopping through the diaphysis of the long bone.

In addition to food debris and numerous drinking and serving vessels,³³ one of the most interesting and distinctive types of artifacts found consistently in the dining deposits of the Communal Dining Building is the krater stand. The frequency of these objects, considered along with the other evidence of communal drinking and dining, has informed our interpretation of the building's function.³⁴ Krater stands are very rare elsewhere on the site, but fragments of no fewer than 14 different examples have been recovered from the rooms of the Communal Dining Building, with 11 stands coming from rooms on the upper terrace alone (Fig. 3). A800 produced the best-preserved examples (three stands). While individual stands may have been stored in A1200 and A1400 on the lower terrace, fragments from five different stands were recovered in the vestibule (A1900S), and fragments of three more stands came directly from the dining room (A2000). The formal consumption of wine is suggested not only by the concentration and condition of these stands, but also by the presence of numerous cups and skyphoi.³⁵ Furthermore, the type of grape remains indicates that wine was stored in pithoi in A1200 and evidently offered on the ground altar in A1900N.

Bronze armor is also present in the Communal Dining Building, and it is perhaps significant that the few identifiable pieces recovered so far at

32. On chthonian cults and offerings, see Yavis 1949, pp. 94–95; Burkert 1985, p. 201; Scullion 1994, p. 93. On cult functions of *andreia*, see Prent 2005, pp. 454–455. The Spensithios decree (*SEG* XXVII 631 A, lines 11–16) refers to obligatory sacrifices, and Athenaios (4.143; cf. Strabo 10.4.21) mentions offerings to Zeus Xenios.

33. For discussion of drinking and serving vessels from the building, see Haggis et al. 2007a, pp. 253–265.

34. For extensive bibliography on Early Iron Age (EIA) and Archaic krater stands, see Haggis et al. 2004, p. 380; 2007a, pp. 256, 263; see also the discussion in Whitley 2009a, p. 290. Krater stands have a long history

of use in the Aegean and Mediterranean (see Haggis et al. 2007a, p. 263, n. 50); for interesting formal and functional parallels in Late Minoan/Late Helladic IIIB–C contexts, see Kountouri 2005.

35. Haggis et al. 2007a, pp. 255, 256, 258, 261, figs. 8, 9, 11, 14.

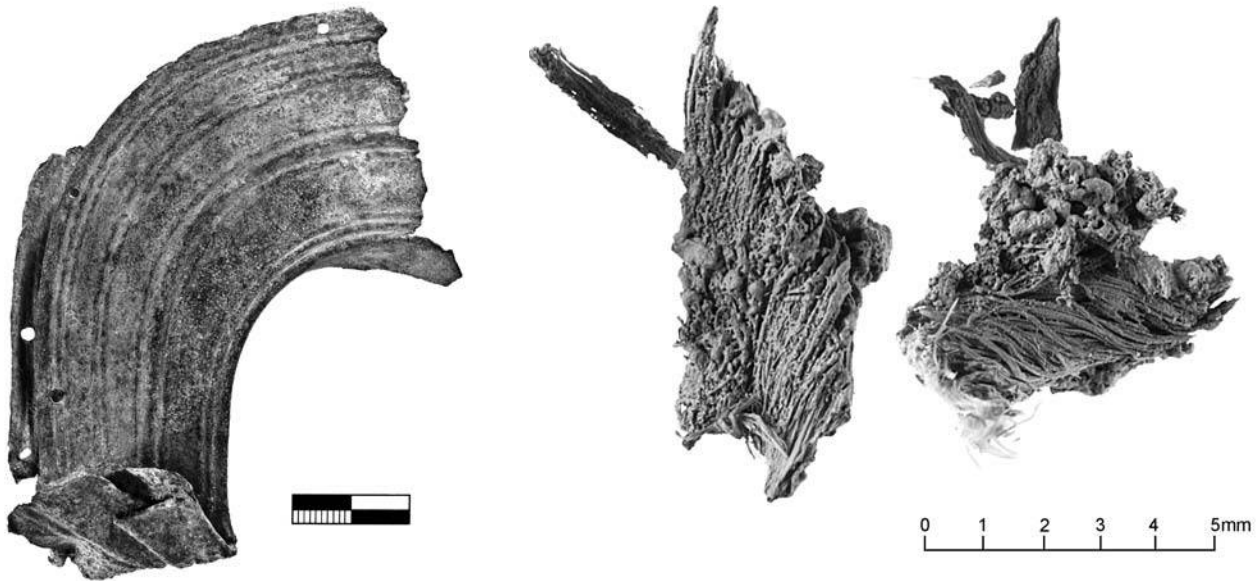


Figure 7 (left). A1400: helmet crest fragment. Photo C. Papanikolopoulos

Figure 8 (right). A1400: thread from the helmet crest. Photo C. Papanikolopoulos

Azoria come from this building, and not elsewhere on the site.³⁶ Perhaps the most interesting example is the top part of the crest of a typical Cretan open-faced helmet, discovered in 2002 in one of the storerooms north of the kitchens on the lower terrace (A1400) (Fig. 7).³⁷ We published a detailed description of this piece in our report on the first season, but it deserves further comment here in light of analysis of the object in 2006, the discovery of a similar fragment south of Temple B at Prinias in 2003, and James Whitley's recent comments on the suitability of the helmet type to "open" styles of Cretan warfare.³⁸

Like the Prinias example, the Azoria crest is formed from two separate and opposing pieces of bronze, folded and crimped on the underside and open at the top, where a row of holes suggests the locations of pins or rivets used to stabilize the two pieces and form an armature for the plume (Fig. 7). The elaborate incised decoration on both leaves consists of registers with chains of lotus flowers, guilloche, and waves. In 2006 Susan Möller-Wiering, of the Centre for Textile Research of the University of Copenhagen, examined microscopic pieces of fiber that had been removed from the dirt caught between the compressed folds of sheet bronze. These pieces were evidently fragments of thread or twine used to anchor the plume to the crest. The largest fragment (Fig. 8) is about 3.0 mm thick, spun in a Z-direction; the fibers are very fine, built up in distinct bundles, and the dislocations suggest some kind of bast fiber, such as flax or hemp.³⁹

On the basis of its decoration, this type of helmet is normally dated to the 7th to early 6th century, along with the bulk of the bronze material forming the notional votive groups from Axos and Aphrati.⁴⁰ The presence

36. Haggis et al. 2004, pp. 389–390; 2007a, p. 304; cf. Viviers 1994, pp. 248–249; Whitley 2009a, p. 289. On the deposition of armor and weapons in Archaic Cretan contexts, see most recently Perlman 2010, esp. pp. 101–104. Though Perlman argues convincingly,

on the basis of an inscription from Axos, for the dedication of weapons in Late Archaic sanctuaries, she accepts the traditional stylistic dating that supports an early-6th-century cessation of the dedication of bronze armor (p. 102).

37. Haggis et al. 2004, pp. 374–375.

38. Gigli Patanè 2005 (Prinias); Whitley 2009a, pp. 284–285.

39. Möller-Wiering 2006, p. 5.

40. Hoffmann 1972, pp. 42–43; cf. Perlman 2010, p. 102.

of the helmet in a Late Archaic destruction deposit in the Communal Dining Building at Azoria suggests that we should reconsider the dating of votives on purely stylistic grounds and question the assumption of a widespread cessation of bronze dedications in Cretan sanctuaries in the early 6th century.⁴¹ The stylistic chronology of these objects provides only the broadest possible date for production, and therefore a terminus post quem for distribution, use, and deposition. To accurately assess the patterns of ritual deposition in Cretan sanctuaries—and then draw historical conclusions about social and economic changes in the 6th century—we first need to disaggregate different contexts of production and consumption in stratigraphically definable systemic assemblages.⁴² The existence of the helmet at Azoria indicates the continued circulation and use of bronze armor throughout the 6th century, and perhaps a shift in the location of depositions from sanctuaries to urban contexts such as the Communal Dining Building.⁴³

THE MONUMENTAL CIVIC BUILDING

Excavation in 2004, downslope and west of the Communal Dining Building, brought to light the remains of two massive walls that formed the south-eastern corner of a substantial building that we have named the Monumental Civic Building (D100, D200, and D500) (Figs. 2, 9–14).⁴⁴ We returned to this area in 2005 and 2006, tracing the course of the building's eastern and northern walls and establishing the overall form of the structure. In addition, in 2006 a series of trenches opened to the north of the main hall of the Monumental Civic Building (D900, D1000, and D1400) exposed the remains of a two-room shrine (the Hearth Shrine) that occupied a single broad terrace running obliquely to the north (Figs. 2, 9). We initially assumed that given their topography, these contiguous buildings were closely related and accessible from separate entrances along a road on the west. Study and conservation of the architecture in 2007, however, brought to light clear evidence for a stairway and door in the north wall of D500 (D523), demonstrating that the two structures are instead parts of the same building: a large main hall (D500) and an adjoining two-room shrine (D900–D1000).

THE MAIN HALL (D500)

The main hall of the Monumental Civic Building occupies a broad terrace, 10 m wide, running north of the Service Building at an oblique angle adhering to the contour of the hill (Fig. 10). It assumed the form of a long trapezoid, cut deeply into the bedrock slope that was worked and shaved to form wall beddings and large sections of the floor. The building's southern wall (D103) was set at a right angle to the eastern (D205) and western walls (Figs. 12, 14), but the northern wall (D523) projects to the north at an oblique angle of about 20° (Figs. 10, 13). The interior is exactly 20.5 m long on the east side, roughly 22.5 m long on the west, and the clay floor is extant to a width of about 8.0 m. Even though the southern wall is

41. Prent 1996–1997, p. 40; Perlman 2010, p. 102. See Kotsonas 2002, esp. pp. 45–48, for a nuanced and detailed assessment of the material patterns.

42. Cf. most recently Perlman 2010, p. 102.

43. Haggis et al. 2007a, pp. 303–305.

44. Haggis et al. 2007a, pp. 295–301.

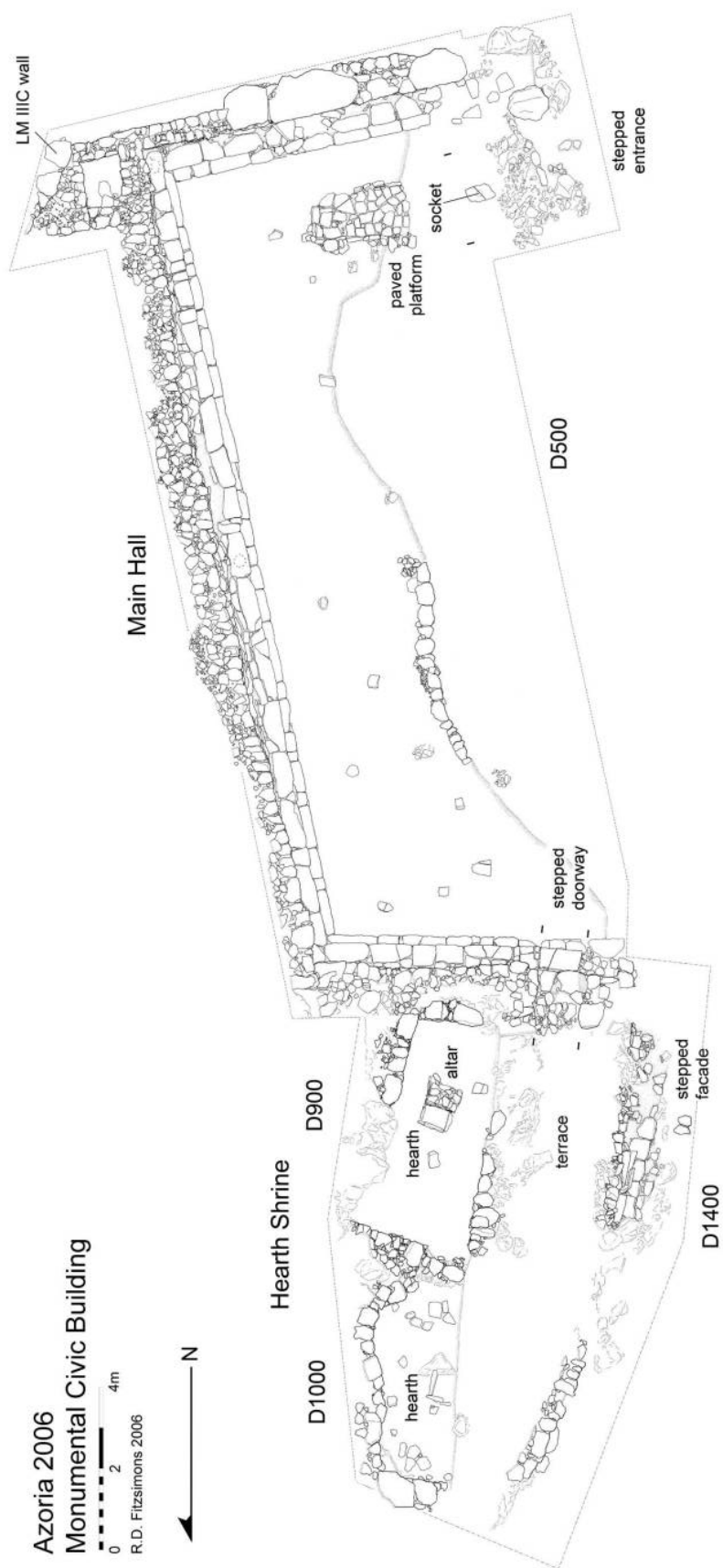


Figure 9. State plan of the Monumental Civic Building. R. D. Fitzsimons

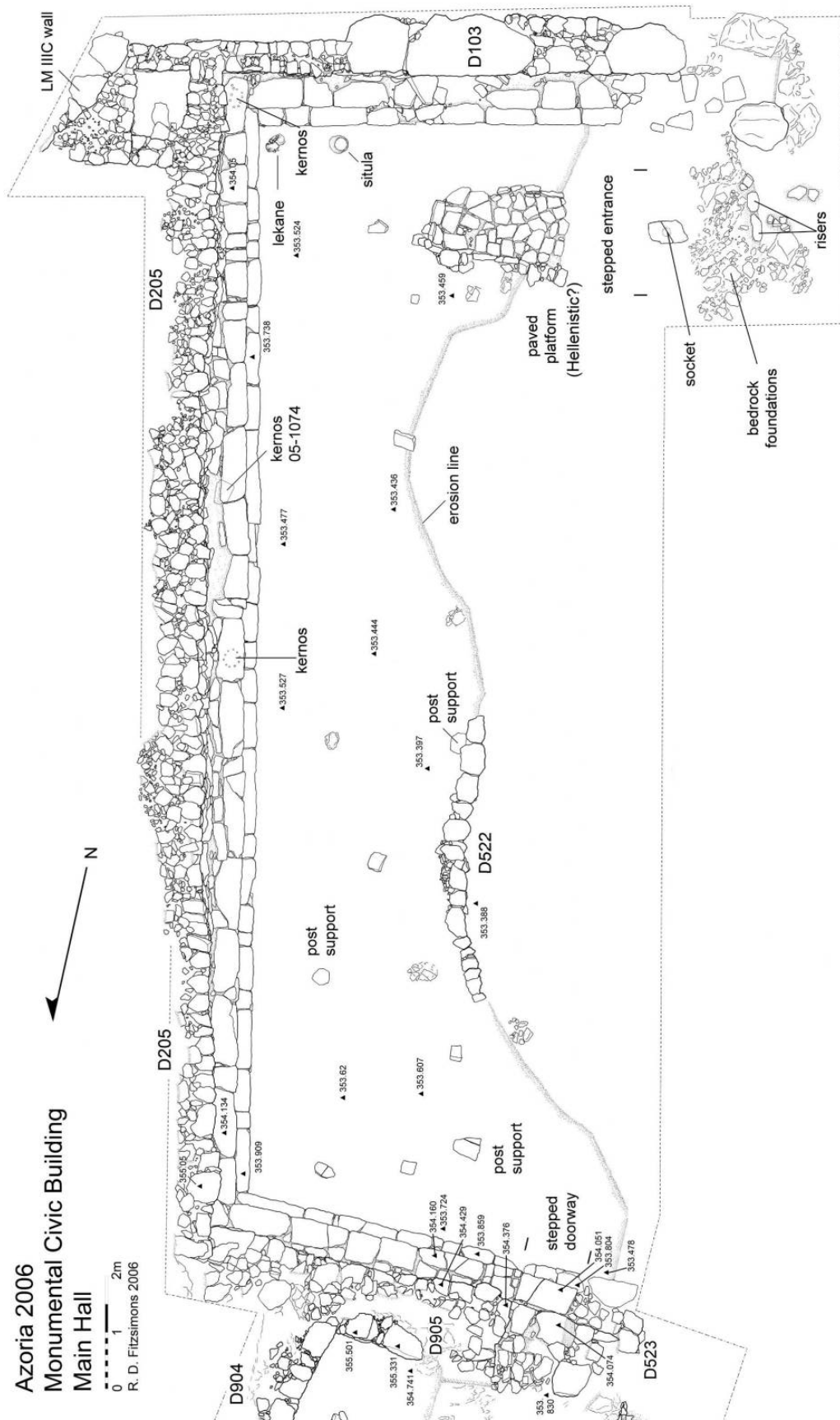


Figure 10. Monumental Civic Building: state plan of the main hall (D500). R. D. Fitzsimons

preserved for a length of 8.30 m, the presence of bedrock foundations for the building's cornerstone in the southwest indicates an original exterior width of over 10 m.

Although the western side of the building has not been completely excavated, an exploratory sounding at the southwestern corner revealed a massive dolomite boulder defining the position of the western wall and the western limits of the building (Fig. 10). A doorway at this point is indicated by a neatly carved socket for a wooden post or door pivot. The socket is a circular depression (ca. 0.14 m diameter) pecked into the surface of a large schist slab set 2.60 m north of the south wall and on line with the inner face of the west wall (Fig. 10). West of this socket are two *sideropetra* risers with tread wear and several pavers. There are no surviving doorjambes or identifiable threshold blocks—the terrace is extremely eroded at the western edge—but it is nevertheless tempting to reconstruct a series of steps leading up onto a paved vestibule with a single post at the center of a wide doorway opening onto the interior of the building.

The eastern wall (D205) is the best preserved (Fig. 11). It bonds with the south wall (D103) in the southeast corner of the building, running northward for a distance of about 21 m before it ends at a prominent rise in the bedrock at the northeast corner (Fig. 10). It was a single-faced construction composed of an irregular mixture of dolomite and *sideropetra* stones, the largest exceeding a meter in length and the smallest roughly fist-sized (Fig. 11). It is built against a fill of small- and medium-sized stones and preserved to a maximum height of about 2.4 m above floor level at its northern end. Although there was evidently no attempt to lay the stones consistently in regular horizontal courses along the entire length of the wall, there are shorter stretches built in such a fashion, and a tendency to set the larger stones into the lowest sections of the wall. An interesting feature is the presence of roughly vertical seams suggesting that the wall was laid as a series of discrete segments between 1 and 3 m in length, a method of construction that appears to have been quite common on the site during the Archaic period (Fig. 11).

The double-stepped bench, first exposed in 2004 against the inner face of the south wall, was found to run continuously around the southern, eastern, and northern walls of the room (Figs. 10–14).⁴⁵ The west side of the building is extremely eroded and largely unexcavated, so whether this bench would have continued along the western wall of the room remains uncertain. The steps are composed of large hammer-dressed blocks of schist and *sideropetra* set in two neatly superimposed tiers against the base of the wall, in some cases laid atop a thin leveling course of small, flattish stones, so that each step rose to a relatively uniform height of ca. 0.25 m (Figs. 11, 14). The upper step measures 0.55–0.60 m deep, and the lower one was shallower by half (0.22–0.25 m). Several steps show considerable signs of tread wear, especially in the center and outer edges, where the blocks appear smooth and worn and even occasionally fractured.

The top step has two inscribed kernoi, one cut into a *sideropetra* block in the southeast corner of the building, and the other in a schist block at the center of the east side, about 10.15–10.20 m from the north and south walls (Figs. 10, 15:1, 2). The former consists of a series of 10 cupules set in an irregular oval, ca. 25 × 40 cm, that is bisected by a natural fissure in the

45. Haggis et al. 2007a, pp. 297–298, fig. 40.

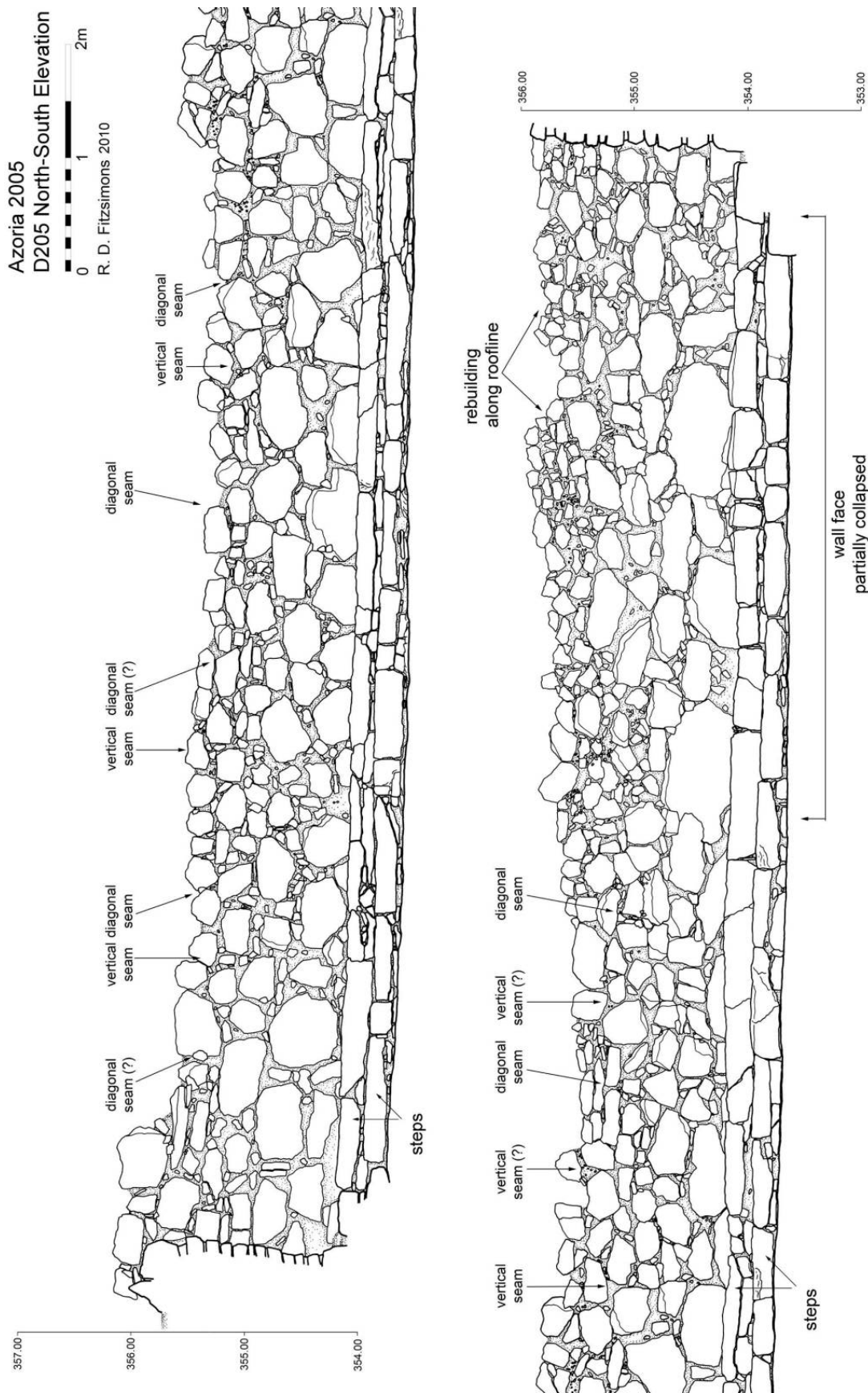


Figure 11. D500: elevation of the east wall of the main hall (D205). R. D. Fitzsimons

Figure 12. D500: interior of the main hall from the north. Photo D. C. Haggis



Figure 13. D500: interior of the main hall from the south. Photo D. C. Haggis



block, with four cupules on one side and six on the other (Fig. 15:1). The central kernos consists of 10 cupules forming a regular circle ca. 31 cm in diameter (Fig. 15:2). The cupules are spaced at regular intervals of ca. 5 cm along the circumference of the circle and they measure ca. 3 cm in diameter. While there is no corresponding kernos in the northeast corner, the polished *sideropetra* block there was set ca. 5–6 cm above the level of the surrounding bench. The fixed kernoï are interesting features with formal Minoan parallels, mostly Protopalatial in date, from courtyard areas of funerary and palatial contexts (see below).⁴⁶

46. The areas where excavated kernoï were most densely distributed are the steps of the theatral areas of the west courts of Phaistos and Knossos (see, e.g., Ferrari and Cucuzza 2004).

The floor of the building was made of cut bedrock leveled off with hard-packed gray-green phyllite clay, which is best preserved along the sides of the building where the walls sheltered deposits of collapsed ceiling clay



Figure 14 (*left*). D500: interior of the southeast corner of the main hall from the west. Photo D. C. Haggis

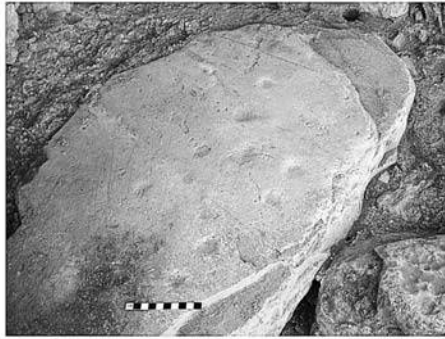
Figure 15 (*opposite, top*). D500: kernoï. Photos D. C. Haggis and C. Papanikolopoulos; drawing R. Docsan

Figure 16 (*opposite, bottom*). D500: lekane and situla in situ. Photo M. S. Mook

from erosion (Fig. 10). Deposits of roofing material were found preserved wherever the floor surface was extant; especially deep deposits in the northeast and southeast corners were embedded with burned olive wood and other plant material.⁴⁷ Impressions of burned olive-wood roof beams on the clay floor take the form of bands of charcoal and burnt-red clay (Fig. 16), leaving no doubt that the building was roofed, though precisely how the internal support system was arranged is uncertain. The beam impressions seem to form regular patterns running perpendicular to the north and south walls at intervals of ca. 1.5–2.0 m; one beam pattern could also be discerned running perpendicular to the east wall in the southeast corner.

Three post supports are preserved in situ, while numerous other shaved-bedrock outcroppings and blocks of schist and *sideropetra* scattered about the eastern and northern areas of the room could have performed similar functions during various phases of use and rebuilding (Fig. 10). One support was located near the northeast corner of the room, its center set ca. 1.20 m west of the lower step of the east bench and ca. 4.10 m south of the lower step of the north wall. It is a block of dolomite, hammer dressed to a diameter of ca. 0.10–0.12 m, and standing about 0.07 m above the surrounding floor surface. Its upper surface has a slight depression. A second support of the same material, found in the center of the room, was partially obscured by the southern end of a wall (D522) that runs through the middle of the northern half of the room. The wall is possibly a later installation, even though it sits directly on the floor surface; the single line of stones extends north–south from the central column base, directly in line with a third post support in situ: a flat trapezoidal block of schist embedded in the clay floor some 1.5 m south of the lowest step of the north bench. Although there is no reason to expect a regular intercolumniation, both the uneven terrain and the evident modification of bedrock could mean that post supports were not required throughout the building.

47. Maria Ntinou is responsible for the identification of olive wood from the structural elements of the building, and for the study and publication of the wood charcoal remains.



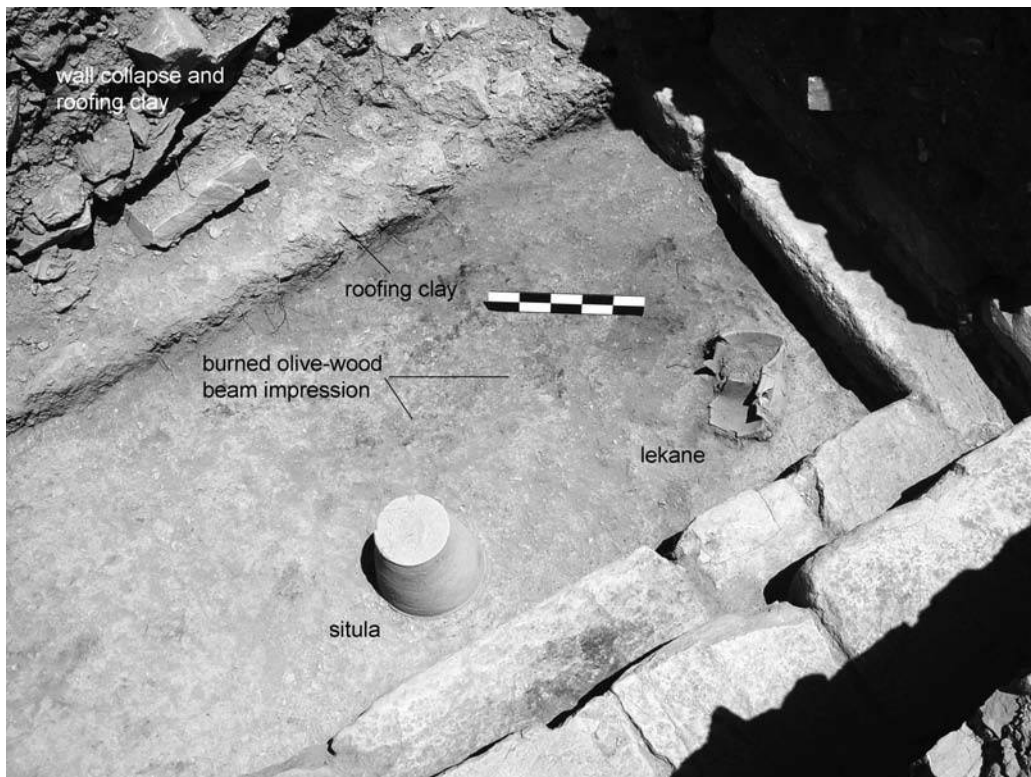
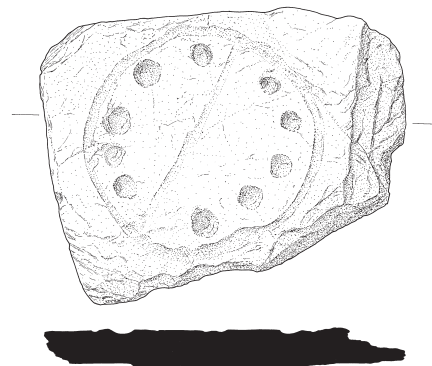
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The floor of the building is best preserved on the northern and southern ends and along the east side where both artifacts and post supports survive intact. Across the central and western areas, roofing clay and floor surfaces were found preserved in patches, but a pattern of erosion is visible through the center of the building, exposing the shaved-bedrock surface of the terrace. Furthermore, later activities on the terrace might have disturbed the Archaic context. In the south there is a paved platform (1.20 m wide \times 2.25 m long), bordered irregularly by upright slabs of stone, and built directly into the Archaic wall collapse and on top of burned roofing material (Figs. 10, 12, 14). We cannot assign a specific date or function to this construction, but the practice of building small, isolated paved rooms (either storage or work areas) directly into Archaic destruction debris, as in this case, is a characteristic of Hellenistic activity elsewhere on the site. It is also clear that the platform makes use of Archaic building materials, such as several blocks of hearth lining, suggesting that Archaic features within the building might have been dismantled or disturbed in later periods.

The north wall of the building (D523) was preserved for a distance of about 7.60 m from the northeast corner of the building to the outer edge of the terrace, which erodes precipitously to the west (Fig. 13). Like the south wall, it was composed of long rectangular blocks of *sideropetra* laid in fairly regular courses inserted between large dolomite boulders. At its western end, however, the wall was broken by a door and stairway that climbed up to the terrace of the Hearth Shrine (D900–D1000) to the north (Figs. 9, 10). The two lower risers of the stair are formed by the blocks of the stepped seats running along the north wall; indeed, their upper surfaces show more tread wear than those of the blocks east or west of the doorway. The third step (ca. 0.18 m high), whose surface was similarly worn, was made of two stones set flush with the inner face of the wall. Indication of a fourth step (D905, Fig. 10) is the bedding for additional risers that originally rose to the level of the platform or corridor west of D900. The eastern jamb of the doorway was fairly well preserved, its southern block provided with a slight jog that cradled the door pivot. The only indication of the position of the western jamb was a pecked surface visible on the western half of the third step.

There were few well-preserved objects on the floor of the Monumental Civic Building, although sherds of drinking and serving vessels were plentiful across the excavated area. The fragmentary nature of the evidence is probably due to both the state of preservation and later post-abandonment activity on the terrace. Even so, if the building was an assembly and dining hall, as we propose here, one might not expect an assemblage as rich or as functionally specific as that found in work areas, kitchens, storerooms, and dumps. Where the floor of the building was preserved, however, we did find considerable amounts of food debris. Faunal materials at the south end of the building have numerous cut marks and show a high level of burning. Bones of pigs (12 specimens) and sheep/goat (18 specimens) were recovered in about equal proportions, and all parts of the body are represented, including meaty upper limbs and joints (scapula, innominate), as well as the head, lower limbs (sheep or goat), and feet (pig, sheep/goat). The presence of articulating elements, cut or chop marks on or near the



Figure 17. D500: chickpeas from situla. Photo S. Davis

epiphyses of limb bones, and burned foot bones strongly suggests that whole leg segments were brought to the building and then dismembered for distribution and eating. The assemblage on the floor of the north side of the building was similar, in that pig and sheep/goat dominate, while the distinctive cut marks concentrated on articular ends of bones indicate the separation of leg segments at the joints. The bones found in the south part of the building show fairly uniform burning, while samples from the north exhibit greater burning on one side of the bone, with part of the bone blackened and shading to reddish brown on the less burned portions. This pattern of burning may have been caused by the intense fire from the destruction of the building as it reached the food debris on the floor, or by roasting over an open flame.

In 2004 we did recover two complete serving vessels, a plain situla and a red-slipped lekane near the southeast corner of the building (Figs. 10, 16).⁴⁸ Recent study of their contents reveals that both vessels contained food that was being served shortly before the destruction of the building. The situla (a deep bucket) was found intact and upside down directly on the floor (Fig. 16). Although its contents had spilled onto the floor, some were sheltered from the debris of the collapsed ceiling. The pot contained a stew that included chickpeas (Fig. 17), grapes, onionlike bulbs, small carbonized twigs from the mint family (possibly herbs such as thyme and oregano), and sheep or goat meat. The lekane was crushed but it too seems to have contained a stew, composed of wheat, broad beans, and grapes. While there are some olive pits and almond shells on the floor of the building, attesting to the consumption of these items as well, the large serving vessels containing stews with grains and pulses are consistent with feasting.⁴⁹

The only other complete artifacts recovered from the destruction deposits were a hydria (Fig. 18), an important part of the drinking and dining equipment, crushed on the floor in the building's northern area, and a stone kernos found lying upside down on the upper step of the eastern bench (Figs. 10, no. 05-1074; 15:3), near the central fixed kernos. Commonly accepted as a Minoan type, the kernos was probably recycled from a Bronze Age or Early Iron Age context on the site or from the surrounding region. It is a single slab of greenish-gray schist (ca. 53 cm long and 43 cm wide) with worked edges. A circle of 10 shallow pecked cupules is encircled by

48. Haggis et al. 2007a, p. 298, fig. 42.

49. For discussion of serving vessels from the Service Building kitchens, see Haggis et al. 2007a, pp. 281–291.

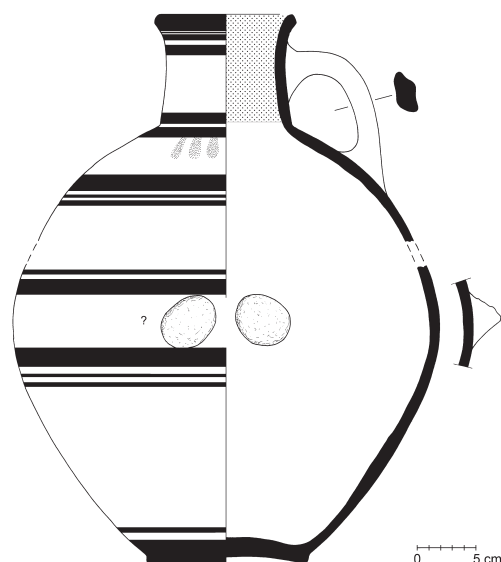


Figure 18. D500: hydria from north end of the Monumental Civic Building. Drawing R. Docsan

a groove and divided into groups of five by a single diagonal groove. The example fits Hillbom's type A1 (kind III), with grooves dividing and encircling the radius of cup holes. Although this type is normally dated to the Bronze Age, it is relatively rare, and few of the published examples come from securely dated contexts.⁵⁰

The faunal remains recovered in destruction deposits of the main hall of the Monumental Civic Building point to the practice of feasting. Large portions of animals are represented in D500, suggesting that whole leg segments and even whole animals were spitted and roasted. Preparation could have taken place elsewhere, perhaps over open fires on the wide terrace on the west side of the building, or more likely, in the fireplaces of the Service Building. For example, at the western edge of the courtyard (B3100) of the Service Building (Fig. 2), which we discuss below, we recovered a fill deposit consisting of a buildup of discarded unburned butchering debris, as well as burned meat elements of cattle, pig, goat, and sheep. The burned meat elements show distinct patterns of partial exposure to fire, with the burning concentrated on the broken joints and ends of the bones; this evidence suggests that they had been roasted on an open fire. Moreover, the size and shape of the rectangular hearth in the adjacent kitchen, B2200/2300, indicate its suitability for open-fire spit roasting.⁵¹

The meat consumed in the Monumental Civic Building was primarily sheep, goat, pig, and some cattle, and while there are a few marine shells, the assemblage consists overwhelmingly of remains from these large animals. Given that the bones derive from meaty upper limbs and joints as well as the head and lower limbs, it seems that large parts of the animals were brought into the building for distribution to significant numbers of participants. The consistent presence of whole leg segments might also indicate the ceremonial and perhaps honorific distribution of sacrificial meat to certain participants in the public feast. Victoria Tsoukala has recently demonstrated that depictions of whole leg joints on 6th- and 5th-century B.C. Attic vases represent honorary shares or special awards of sacrificial meat, drawing a distinction between the leg joints and the equal portions of cut meat normally

50. For the Middle Minoan (MM) II–Late Minoan (LM) III date range, see Hillbom 2003, pp. 21–22, 58, 67.

51. For B2200/2300, see Haggis et al. 2007a, p. 288.

distributed to the public after sacrifice. In Tsoukala's analysis, the leg joints reflect an individual's participation in festivals of the polis and thus were symbols of special status and civic identity.⁵²

In marked contrast to the remains in the Monumental Civic Building, the prepared cuts of meat in the Communal Dining Building are not whole leg segments, and there is no evidence of the primary butchering of whole animals within the dining areas of the building; furthermore, the food assemblage there contains a much wider range of animals than that represented in D500, including rabbit, cow, dog, and an extensive array of smaller marine fauna such as limpets, top shell, fish, and urchin. This variety of species, together with their potentially diverse processing, preparation, and consumption requirements, implies that the food was brought to the kitchens and dining rooms of the Communal Dining Building, perhaps as prepared portions for a number of individual meals; the food remains suggest the accumulation of debris from various kinds of dining. In the main hall of the Monumental Civic Building, however, the material from the floor indicates larger-scale feasting on special occasions that included a large number of participants. Nevertheless, it is important to recognize that we do not know the total capacity of the dining rooms in the Communal Dining Building; we have recovered only two complete dining rooms (A800; and the upper room of A2000), and the southern half of the lower room in A2000. Given the poor preservation of the building, it is possible that the western edge of the terrace, now eroded, could have accommodated more dining rooms.

The principal difference between the hall of the Monumental Civic Building and the dining rooms of the Communal Dining Building may not have been the number of participants they accommodated, but rather their respective configurations of space and seating arrangements. That the design of each building accommodated different groups of diners is reflected in the differences in the food consumed in the two buildings and in the equipment they contained. The concentration of krater stands in the Communal Dining Building, for example, suggests that it hosted more intimate drinking activities.

The three kernoi in the Monumental Civic Building (Figs. 10, 15) attest to ritual functions within the main hall and may have created symbolic links to the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age. While a variety of interpretations of Minoan kernoi persist,⁵³ the occurrence of kernoi in both peak-sanctuary and mortuary contexts, as well as their similarity to stone and terracotta ring vases, indicates that they originally served ritual functions.⁵⁴ In their Minoan setting, they are normally permanent installations built into benches, altars, and courtyards; they are closely associated with house tombs, household storage spaces, and public ceremonial contexts such as courts and theatral areas of palaces. As offering tables designed presumably for libations or first-fruits sacrifices, they may have served in rituals that pertained to the agropastoral and fertility concerns of the household and community.⁵⁵ The instances of using Minoan or Minoan-type stone kernoi in Early Iron Age contexts are few. The nearest parallel for the type, indeed almost identical to the moveable example from Azoria, comes from Boyd's excavation on the peak of the Kastro Kavousi.⁵⁶ The findspot, Kastro "room 1,"

52. Tsoukala 2009, esp. pp. 34–36. The inscribed lekane from the Service Building may have contained honorific portions of meals; see Haggis et al. 2007a, pp. 290–291.

53. See, e.g., Whittaker 2002; Hillbom 2003.

54. Soles 1979, pp. 152–154; 1992, pp. 221–223; Kyriakidis 2005, pp. 141–143; Vavouranakis 2007, pp. 113–115.

55. Vavouranakis 2007, p. 114. See Prent 2005, pp. 416–417, on the use of kernoi in Archaic sanctuaries, and Perlman 2002, esp. p. 213, on the agropastoral emphasis of Gortynian laws.

56. Boyd 1901, pp. 141–142, fig. 7. Boyd's description of the context on the Kastro says nothing to support Hillbom's LM III date or even to suggest that the stone has to be earlier than Late Geometric.

was actually an exterior courtyard that gave access to Building H (Late Geometric [LG]–Early Orientalizing), which, given its location and unusual architectural form, probably served special public functions.⁵⁷ Another instance, perhaps functionally similar to the Kastro example but of earlier date, is a possibly reused Protopalatial kernos in the courtyard of Building A–B on the neighboring site of Vronda (LM IIIC).⁵⁸ The kernos is located on the edge of the courtyard near the entrance to the main room of the building (A1) and to room B4, which contained drinking vessels, cattle skulls, and *agrimi* horns, possibly indications of ritual activities associated with dining in the main hall of Building A.⁵⁹ The intertwined ritual and social/political functions of the Vronda building have led the excavators and others to suggest that Building A–B accommodated a local ruler who may have controlled agricultural surplus and supplied public feasts that served both to galvanize members of the community and to reinforce the family's power, social alliances, and status in the community.⁶⁰

The kernoi in the Monumental Civic Building at Azoria, combined with the evidence for communal feasting and assembly, point to integrated cultic and civic activities. The Monumental Civic Building seems to combine certain basic functions of LM IIIC and EIA rulers' houses and hearth temples, but on a much expanded scale, integrating larger numbers of people and perhaps inviting wider public participation. The installation of kernoi could well be evidence of continuity in certain aspects of cult practice, as well as a deliberate symbolic reminder of the ritual and political centers of surrounding Early Iron Age communities. If so, then in the Archaic context, public feasting would have been intentionally dissociated from a specific elite household and opened to a wider community, perhaps on occasion to all citizens.

THE HEARTH SHRINE (D900, D1000, D1400)

Immediately north of the main hall of the Monumental Civic Building (D500), and roughly a meter higher than its floor level, is a two-room shrine of Archaic date (D900–D1000) occupying a broad but topographically discrete bedrock terrace about 13 m long (north–south) and 6.0 m wide (east–west) (Fig. 9). Because of the connecting doorway, the shrine is, properly speaking, an extension of the Monumental Civic Building, but it consists of two small interconnected rooms forming a coherent architectural space (Figs. 9, 19). A fragmentary megalithic retaining wall on the western

57. Boyd 1901, p. 141; Coulson et al. 1997, pp. 339–340; Prent 2005, p. 298. While Boyd does not describe the stratigraphy of room 1, recent excavation has demonstrated a 7th-century ante quem date for activity on the peak. Contra Hillbom 2003, pp. 58, 67, we think that this type of kernos, not at all well attested in Bronze Age contexts, might be an EIA variety used down into the Orientalizing period.

58. Most recently, Day (2009, p. 49)

has suggested that the kernos belongs to earlier MM II or LM I buildings underlying Building A–B; the top surface of the kernos, however, was exposed among the paving stones on the exterior of the building, so it may have been in use. See also Day, Coulson, and Gesell 1986, pp. 364–366; Prent 2007, p. 143.

59. Recently Day (2009, pp. 62–63) argued obliquely that the animal remains might be the ritually displayed

products of sacrifice; see also Mazarakis Ainian 1997, pp. 295–296; Day and Snyder 2004, pp. 70–71; and cf. Prent 2005, p. 288, on the *keraton* at Dreros.

60. Day and Snyder 2004, pp. 73, 77–78; Day 2009, pp. 61–63; cf. Mazarakis Ainian 1997, p. 209. On ritual functions of LM IIIC rulers' dwellings, see most recently Prent 2007, pp. 143–147, who links such buildings to functions later accommodated by hearth temples.

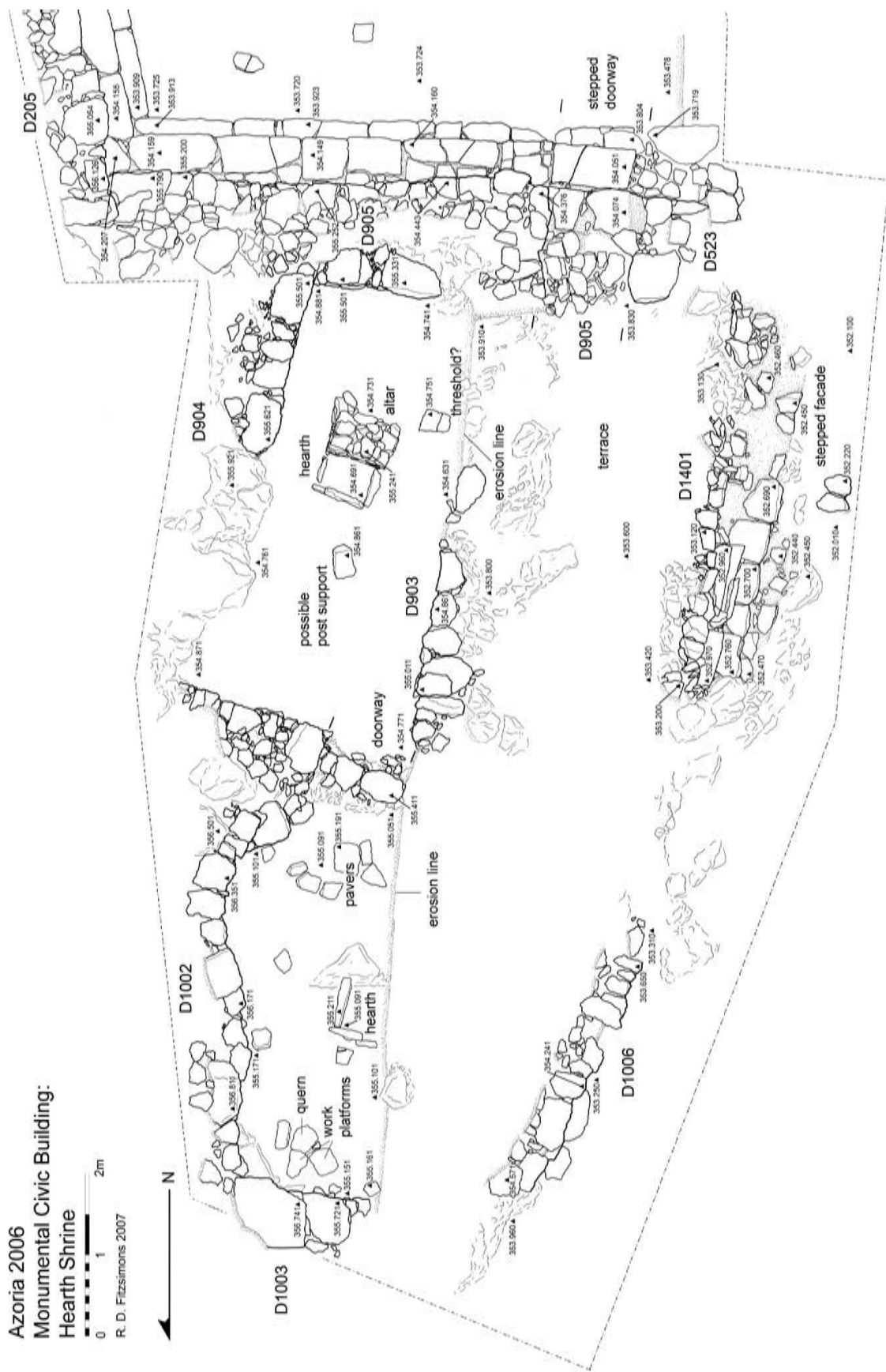


Figure 19. Plan of the Hearth Shrine. R. D. Fitzsimons

edge contained fill that would have leveled off the bedrock and supported a wide porch or open platform along the west side of the building.

Below the terrace, along the west face of this retaining wall (A1400), are the remains of a series of steps (Fig. 19: stepped facade). Because of the extreme erosion, only three rows of steps are preserved for about 4–5 m at the southern end. The uppermost surviving steps were constructed of two courses of thick stones (both schist and dolomite) set to a regular depth and height of about 0.30 m. The second preserved tier, whose top surface shows signs of heavy tread wear, was composed of large dressed blocks of dolomite and *sideropetra* set on a leveling course of small cobbles to the same height and depth as the upper row. The presence of another leveling course below and west of the second step indicates the position of at least one more row. While it is uncertain how many steps there originally were, we reconstruct a stepped facade rising from a north–south street or courtyard up to a retaining wall that would have supported the porch or corridor in front of the Hearth Shrine. Although smaller in scale, such an arrangement would have been similar in appearance to the steps of the “theater” (*ekklesiasterion*) fronting the northern face of the eastern end of the temple terrace at Lato. The steps at Azoria had a very narrow tread width (ca. 0.30 m) and would not have made very comfortable seating, but given their projected line of ascent on the slope, it is unlikely that they formed a stepped access to the shrine itself. The doorway and stair in the northern wall of the Monumental Civic Building formed the only certain point of convenient access onto the terrace of the Hearth Shrine.

As noted above, the shrine building is made up of two interconnecting rooms (Fig. 19). The southernmost room (D900), which lay immediately east of the doorway leading up from the hall of the Monumental Civic Building, is roughly rectangular in shape (ca. 2.40–2.80 m wide and 5.40 m long), and it has a clay floor and a rectangular bench (an offering table or altar, 0.80 × 0.60 m) in the southern half of the room (Figs. 19, 20). Built against the north face of the bench is a low stone-lined hearth constructed of three stones set at right angles (ca. 0.70 m × 0.50 m). About 0.50 m north of the hearth, on the central north–south axis of the room, is a limestone block, probably a base for an upright used to support roof beams at the position of a chimney pot or opening in the roof. The doorway to D900 must have been at the southern end of the building, just southwest of the bench where a schist slab survives as part of the original paved threshold (Figs. 19, 20); although the west wall is not extant at this spot, there is no doubt that there was a corridor or porch along the west side of the building providing access to the room.

The northern half of the bench was constructed of flat slabs of schist and *sideropetra* laid in eight regular courses to a height of about 0.50 m; the faces on its southern half were formed by slightly larger slabs of the same material set upright (Fig. 20). The west and south sides appear to have been damaged from wall and roof collapse. The height and construction technique—the use of both coursed and upright slabs—has precise formal parallels in the 7th-century Altar U and the 6th-century phase of Altar H at Kommos, although these were large exterior altars evidently used for burned offerings.⁶¹ Indeed, the normative definition of an altar requires

61. Shaw 2000, pp. 164–165; Shaw 2000a, pp. 28, 36.



Figure 20. D900: altar and hearth from the northeast. Photo D. C. Haggis

an installation for burned offerings.⁶² Although some fragmentary bone was found directly on top of the bench in D900, there was no evidence of concentrated burned bone or ash debris.

A number of votive objects (Figs. 21–24) were found in a stratum just above the altar, but clearly displaced from it, as they were concentrated directly above the area of the paved surface: a miniature skyphos, a ribbed stand, the poorly preserved head of a terracotta female figurine (possibly Late Archaic), the lower legs of a coarse Geometric female figurine, fragments of two cylindrical female figurines (one of which is shown in Fig. 21:1), a Daedalic plaque depicting a female (Fig. 21:3), and a miniature bronze cup (Fig. 22). Directly on top of the paved surface of the altar we recovered a miniature skyphos, two female Geometric figurines (one of which is shown in Fig. 21:2), one zoomorphic figurine fragment (bovine hindquarters), and a dowel fragment, probably belonging to a cylindrical figurine. Evidently fallen from the southern edge of the altar, but suspended just below the top surface in the matrix of roofing clay and tumble, was a second ribbed stand (Fig. 23), the lower torso and legs of a Geometric figurine, and the upper torso of a cylindrical figurine joining with fragments found above the altar's surface; the Daedalic moldmade head of this cylindrical figurine was recovered directly on the floor surface lying next to the altar on the west. Near the top surface of the altar, but displaced from it on the west, was a third ribbed stand.

Additional finds from the room include a glass bead, a spindle whorl,⁶³ a piece of folded bronze, a number of animal bones and marine shells, and seeds from olive, grape, wheat, chickpea, and broad bean. Thus it appears that the bench was designed for a variety of offerings, including food, as demonstrated by the presence of animal bones, marine shells, seeds, miniature vessels, and the ribbed stands.⁶⁴ The stands are actually offering vessels, each equipped with a small cupule, perhaps meant for vegetal material or libations—the first-fruits sacrifices usually associated with kernoi.⁶⁵ The miniature bronze cup (Fig. 22) was found directly above the

62. Yavis 1949, pp. 54–55; Shaw 2000b, p. 675; Hellmann 2006, pp. 122–128.

63. Prent (2005, pp. 337, 346, 423, and esp. 507) discusses the significance of spindle-whorl offerings in terms of gender.

64. For miniature terracotta vessels in Cretan votive assemblages, see Prent 2005, pp. 419–420.

65. Prent (2005, pp. 416–417) has noted the regular occurrence of mold-made terracottas, handmade and cylindrical figurines, and kernoi in urban and suburban sanctuaries.

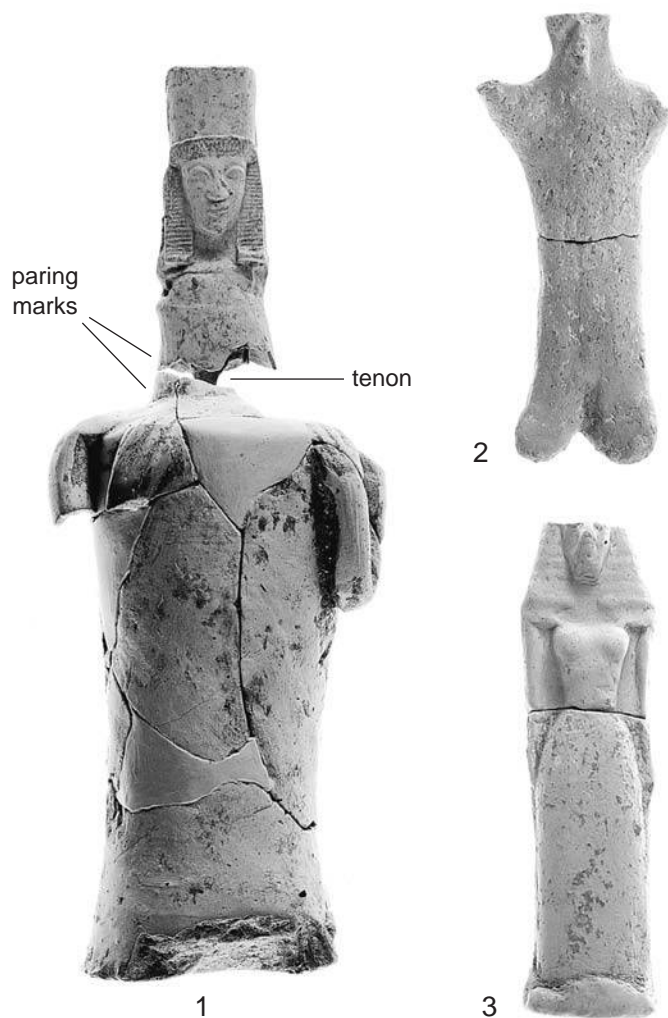


Figure 21. D900: figurines (1, 2) and plaque (3) from altar. Scale 1:2. Photo C. Papanikolopoulos

top of the altar. It is about 4–5 cm in diameter and has a round bottom and slightly carinated and everted rim. On the basis of similar 7th-century examples from the Idaean cave, we surmise that a handle is missing from the broken end.⁶⁶

Faunal remains recovered from above the altar included a number of marine shells (Fig. 24): triton (*Charonia* sp.), murex, venus, a wedge shell valve, and several limpets (*Patella* sp.).⁶⁷ Directly on top of the paved surface of the altar were animal bone fragments and two trough-shells (*Macra*). The roofing and occupation debris from around the altar produced a large assemblage of animal bones and marine shells, including triton, murex, wedge shell, cockle, and limpet. Sheep, goat, pig, and cattle are represented by both cranial and postcranial elements, including meaty upper-limb bone fragments and lower-leg and foot bones. Two specimens, a goat calcaneum and a sheep/goat proximal femur segment, exhibit cut marks indicating that the hind limb was separated into smaller portions of meat. One or more possibly complete boar or hog heads are indicated by both left and right mandible segments, including a left tusk, plus left and right maxilla

66. For the examples from the Idaean cave, see Boardman 1961, pp. 86–87, who dates the form on the basis of the style of the inscribed rosettes on the Oxford Ashmolean Museum example.

67. On triton shells and the continuation of Bronze Age depositional practices, see Prent 2005, pp. 324, 426.

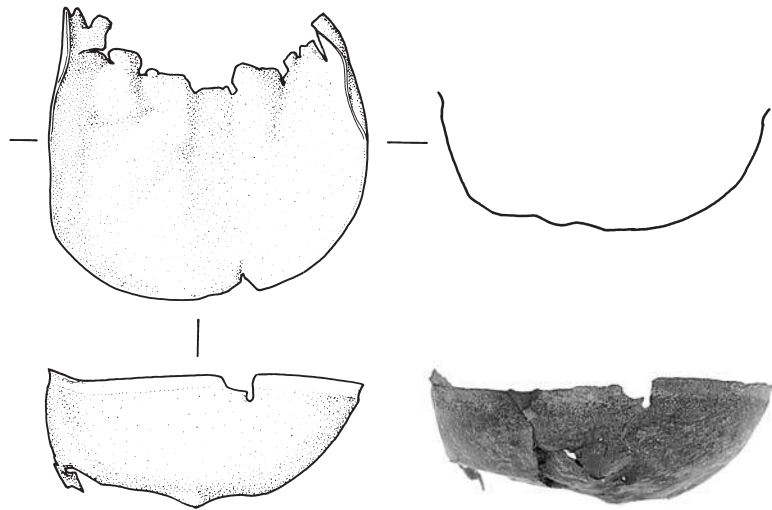


Figure 22. D900: bronze cup from altar. Scale 1:1. Photo C. Papanikolopoulos; drawing D. Faulmann

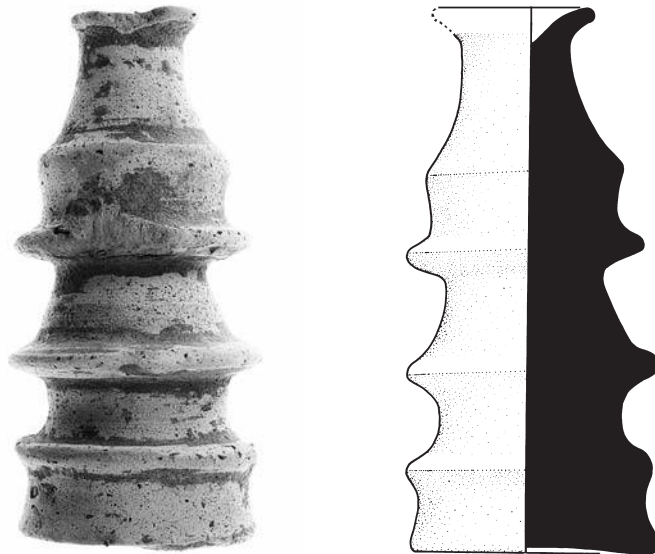


Figure 23. D900: ribbed stand from altar. Scale 3:4. Photo C. Papanikolopoulos; drawing D. Faulmann

segments. Such evidence suggests the possibility that crania and tusks were displayed on top of the altar.⁶⁸ Also present are elements from a mature boar and mandible fragments and postcranial elements from a very young or juvenile pig.

The plaque (Fig. 21:3) and all of the identifiable anthropomorphic figurines depict females. One example of the Geometric figurines is typical: it is made of a slab of coarse reddish-brown clay, with dense phyllite inclusions, fashioned roughly into an elongated tubular torso with stubs for arms and legs (Fig. 21:2). The head is squared and flattened at the top with a pinched nose, sockets for the eyes, and a simple groove for the mouth. While no breasts are preserved on this example, the genitalia are indicated by an incision between the legs, a characteristic of all four of the

68. Cf. the display of cattle skulls and *agrimi* horns in the LM IIIC period at Vronda B4 (Day and Snyder 2004, pp. 71–73; Day 2009, pp. 62–63).



Figure 24. D900: marine shells from altar and vicinity. Photo C. Papanikolopoulos

Geometric anthropomorphic figurines in the assemblage. The type has precise parallels at Ayia Triada, where such figurines are normally dated to the end of the 8th or beginning of the 7th century B.C.⁶⁹ The plaque and the other figurines are Daedalic in style, suggesting a 7th- or early-6th-century date for the archetypes.⁷⁰ Two cylindrical wheel-made bodies are hollow (e.g., Fig. 21:1), slightly concave on the sides, and made of fine pinkish-buff clay fired gray at the core with phyllite and quartzite inclusions. The arms are pressed rolls of clay with incisions for the fingers. In one example both arms are folded and touching the breast and collar.⁷¹ The head is moldmade and has a high polos, horizontal side locks, a decorated fillet, and articulated facial features. The head was inserted into the hollow body with the support of a clay dowel or tenon, and the exterior of the transition to the body was then smoothed and roughly pared to obscure the join (Fig. 21:1). While examples are known from votive deposits at Praisos (Altar Hill and Mesavrysis) and elsewhere,⁷² the best-published parallels for the hollow figurine type come from the Siteia deposit, where both male and female types are present.⁷³

The bench was intended not merely for displaying these figurines, but as an offering table and altar for food sacrifices (Figs. 19, 20).⁷⁴ While the adjoining hearth on the north side of the bench had been mostly cleaned of its contents at the time of abandonment, numerous pieces of yet unidentified burned amorphous organic material were recovered by flotation, as well as fragments of heavily burned and calcined animal bone, not

69. D'Agata 1999, pp. 124–126, pl. 83:D2.32, 33.

70. For a characterization of the Daedalic style on Crete, see Demargne 1947, esp. pp. 252–263, 272–278.

71. See Demargne 1929, p. 387, for cylindrical figurines; pp. 396–398, for

polos types at Lato. See Prent 2005, pp. 399–402, for a general discussion of cylindrical figurines.

72. Forster 1901–1902, pp. 275–280; Whitley 1998, pp. 37–38; Prent 2005, pp. 304–309.

73. Papadakis 1981, esp. pp. 64–65;

Prent 2005, pp. 300–301. A number of these figurines are on display in the Siteia and Ayios Nikolaos museums.

74. Erickson (2009, p. 357, n. 16) notes the lack of sufficiently excavated or documented findspots that might indicate the display context of votives.

unlike the fragments found in the ground altar in the Communal Dining Building, discussed above. The association of a hearth and bench is, generally speaking, a characteristic of Geometric and Orientalizing “hearth temples” such as the Apollo temple at Dreros and Kommos Temples A and B. Continuing an ostensibly Bronze Age tradition, these buildings have a fireplace as the focal point of banqueting, preparation of ritual meals, and hearth sacrifices, and a bench for the display of offerings.⁷⁵ Although this is evidently the case inside the Kommos temples, Shaw admits that figurines might have been placed on benches or platforms near Altar U; within the temples, objects may also have been deliberately broken near or on the hearths as part of a ritual reenactment of sacrificial slaughtering.⁷⁶ Because the situation is not as clear-cut as our traditional definitions and typologies would indicate, the attribution of ritual functions to both the hearth and bench might be complicated by our tendency toward reductive definitions of altars; even at Kommos in the Classical period, Altar C was apparently used for both burned sacrifices and as a platform for the display of figurines.⁷⁷

In the case of the shrine at Azoria, it is interesting that food remains are present on the floor and in the hearth of D900, but they are relatively sparse in comparison to those found associated with the ground altar in A1900N of the Communal Dining Building. In both instances, however, it appears as if the altar areas had been cleaned before abandonment, or exposed to the elements. We might infer that the frequency, scale, and nature of offerings—and perhaps the frequency with which food-offering debris was cleared from the altar—differed between the ground altar and the Hearth Shrine. This difference in ritual behavior is in keeping with our conceptualization of how the two altars related to the different activities in the Communal Dining Building and Monumental Civic Building. While the ground altar in A1900N would have accumulated sacrificial debris, perhaps first-fruits derived from regular meals, the altar of the Hearth Shrine could well have been reserved for certain festival occasions or less frequent formal rituals.

A doorway in the northwest corner of room D900 has a step leading up to a small, irregularly shaped storeroom and kitchen (D1000), about 4.5 m long and preserved to only about 2.5 m wide, eroding sharply on the west (Fig. 19). While the western wall is no longer extant, the assumption that the hearth is located in the center of the room suggests an original width of about 3.0 m. The rectangular hearth (ca. 0.70 × 0.50 m) is constructed of long, thin *sideropetra* blocks on its northern and eastern sides; its southern curb was hewn from the bedrock.⁷⁸ In the northeast corner of the room there are three flat limestone boulders, evidently work platforms surrounding a rectangular schist quern (Fig. 19). Burning on the floor and a fallen olive-wood roof beam in the south half of the room are indications

75. Shaw 2000, pp. 164–165; Shaw 2000b, pp. 698–703; Hellmann 2006, p. 126; Prent 2007.

76. Shaw 2000, pp. 164–165.

77. Shaw 2000, pp. 165–166.

78. This type of hearth, which Shaw (2000b, p. 677) calls “slab-on-edge,”

is common at Azoria (e.g., B1500, B2200/2300, D300, and E100). While curbed hearths were used for various kinds of cooking, they also correlate to spit roasting in both domestic and civic contexts at Azoria.

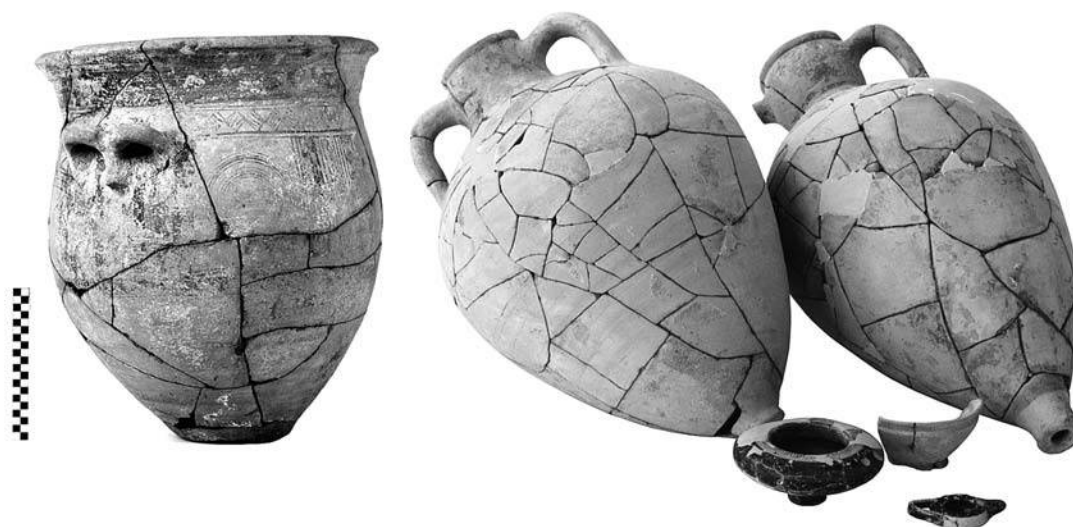


Figure 25. D1000: selected pottery from floor: bell krater, transport amphoras, exaleiptron, bowl, and lamp. Photo C. Papanikolopoulos

of the Late Archaic destruction, which left a well-preserved assemblage including two pithoi, a Protogeometric B (PGB)-style krater, three transport amphoras, a black-gloss exaleiptron and lamp, and a plain bowl (Fig. 25). High-necked cups, a tray, a lekane, and chytrai were found in more fragmentary condition, in addition to a bronze awl, an iron knife blade, an iron nail or *obelos* fragment, a loom weight, and a schist lid. The large bell krater has stirrup handles and is decorated on one side with compass-drawn concentric circles flanking a central panel of rectilinear decoration (Fig. 25, left), typical of Knossian PGB bell kraters.⁷⁹ A similar but less well-preserved bell krater was found on the floor of D400, in the Service Building.⁸⁰ The assemblage in D1000 also contained several Late Archaic–Early Classical off-island imports: the transport amphoras, one of which is a Chian amphora with bulging neck (Fig. 25, right), while the other two are possibly Thasian (Fig. 25, center);⁸¹ and the exaleiptron⁸² and the lamp⁸³ (Fig. 25, lower right), which are Athenian products.

Food remains on the floor of D1000, presumably stored and prepared for use in the altar room, included modest quantities of olive pits and sparse grape, barley, pulse, and almond. The animal bone assemblage consisted

79. These sorts of bell kraters, decorated with a central panel and flanking concentric circle groups, are generally assigned to PGB; here the central filling of the circle sets is not preserved. See Callaghan et al. 2000, p. 229, pl. 4.12:166; Johnston 2000, pp. 207, 211, fig. 18:76; Coldstream 2001, pp. 47–51, pl. 23:d.

80. Haggis et al. 2007a, pp. 293–294.

81. For the Chian amphora, see Cook and Dupont 1998, pp. 149–151, fig. 23:2e, dated to ca. 490–470 B.C. For the Chian bulging neck C/1 variant

dated from the late 6th century to 480, see Lawall 1995, pp. 89–90, 355, fig. 19. Although one of the other two amphoras is missing its upper shoulder and neck, its micaceous fabric is indistinguishable from that of the complete example, shown in Fig. 25, center, and they have similar toes, suggesting a common provenance. Zeest's Thasian Circle group, type A, dated to the first quarter of the 5th century, provides parallels for their shape (Cook and Dupont 1998, pp. 186–190, fig. 23:13b).

82. The exaleiptron, dating to ca. 500, is missing its foot, most of the

stem, and its lid (for which there is a ledge). It belongs to Burrows and Ure's class B (1911, pp. 76–77, 79, fig. 6). Given the shape of this vessel, with its deep overhanging flange that prevents pouring or spillage, it was most likely used to contain scented liquid, as suggested by Burrows and Ure (1911, pp. 86–87, 96), Boardman (1974, p. 189), and Moore and Philippides (*Agora* XXIII, p. 49).

83. This lamp belongs to Howland's type 21B, dated ca. 490–460 (*Agora* IV, pp. 46–47, pls. 6:166, 34:166).

of a young goat (kid), and cranial and postcranial elements of at least one mature animal. The presence of elements of the upper limb (scapula, innominate) indicates food debris; a deep cut or chop mark on the lateral face of a humerus segment with an unfused distal diaphysis indicates the reduction of the meaty upper front limb into smaller meat portions. The area inside the hearth produced a small assemblage of bones and shells, including a limpet fragment, a fish vertebra, an operculum (cranial element) from a *Sparidae*, an urchin spine, and a sheep/goat phalange (toe) fragment that was heavily burned or calcined.

There are no contemporary parallels for the Hearth Shrine at Azoria. Although numerous votive assemblages with similar types of figurines, but in much larger numbers, have been recovered in eastern Crete—as at Siteia; Roussa Ekklesia; Praisos Altar Hill, Mesavrysis, and Vavelloi; and Kako Plai at Anavlochos⁸⁴—the lack of sufficiently large excavation samples, full contextual descriptions, or adequately detailed publication hampers efforts to interpret their topography.⁸⁵ Prent has labeled many of these findspots and assemblages “suburban sanctuaries,” contrasting them with “urban” hearth temples in which rituals and dining were exclusive and male-oriented and geared to elite consumption. “Suburban” sanctuary assemblages, which feature large numbers of terracottas, were more inclusive and public in character.⁸⁶ Prent’s typology notwithstanding, the Hearth Shrine at Azoria is definitely urban in location and function, but the artifact types reflect aspects of her more communal cults. The public character of the cult may be inferred from the location of the Hearth Shrine within the Monumental Civic Building, but the architecture of the building and altar, as well as the small number of votives present, suggests ritual behavior that was perhaps more exclusive than Prent’s suburban category would allow.⁸⁷

The style of the moldmade figurines and the plaque points to a 7th-century date, while the latest pottery in the rooms (D900 and D1000) is in keeping with the early-5th-century destruction horizon across the site (Fig. 25). Given this disparity in date and the taphonomy of the deposit, which demonstrates primary use at the time of destruction (rather than storage or ritual discard), it is most likely that the objects (or the molds) continued to be used and circulated for a number of generations.⁸⁸ The practice of recycling and continued use may be supported by the presence of even earlier objects, such as the Geometric handmade figurines from the altar itself in D900 (Fig. 21) and the PGB krater (Fig. 25, left) found in use among the Late Archaic pottery in the adjoining room D1000. The presence of these early artifacts demonstrates that the specific tenets of the cult at Azoria involved the reuse or continued use of objects that were retained for their specific qualities. Perhaps the original elite-dining associations of the krater, the archaizing primitivism of the Geometric figurines, or the Orientalizing details of the Daedalic types allowed them to be perceived as venerable relics, evoking memories of earlier cult practices, or ideas about such practices.

The Hearth Shrine is situated within the center of the city and forms a northern extension of the Monumental Civic Building (Figs. 1, 9).⁸⁹ Given the shrine’s small size and restricted access—directly from the main hall

84. Prent 2005, pp. 282–308, and *passim*.

85. Erickson 2009, p. 357, n. 16.

86. Prent 2005, esp. pp. 476–502. Prent’s functional typology is compelling but derives from published contexts that lack detailed presentation of architecture and chronology. Many of her suburban shrines are arguably from 6th- and 5th-century contexts, while hearth temples remain for the most part artifacts of the Early Iron Age (Protogeometric through the 7th century B.C.).

87. Cf. Prent 2005, pp. 416–417; Erickson 2009, p. 385.

88. See the earlier discussion on the hazards of dating bronzes on stylistic rather than contextual grounds (pp. 15–16). See also Erickson 2009, p. 376, on the longevity of mold use and problems in dating contexts on the basis of the style of terracottas; D’Acunto 2002, pp. 208–209, on the date and longevity of the use of the altar terrace on the acropolis at Gortyn; and Prent 2005, pp. 267–272.

89. The main hall of the Monumental Civic Building could easily have accommodated the more inclusive functions of Prent’s “suburban” sanctuaries (2005, pp. 498–499).

of the Monumental Civic Building—traffic was evidently controlled, and ritual activities were necessarily circumscribed. The rooms were inaccessible to all but a few individuals, perhaps priests, magistrates, or service personnel, and used not for dining but for conducting official offerings; seated dining was accommodated in the neighboring main hall. In spite of the shrine's closed quarters and limited access, its elevated position, on a podiumlike terrace with a stepped facade, indicates that the rituals may have involved public displays, or publicly visible activity, as objects, offerings, prepared foods, or personnel passed from the shrine out onto the stepped terrace and then in and out of the main hall of the Monumental Civic Building. The bedrock terrace along the west side of D900 above the stepped facade (Fig. 19), however, is not sufficiently preserved to determine whether this space was an open porch or a closed corridor.

The juxtaposition of the hearth and bench (Fig. 20) has no exact formal parallels or predecessors in known cult contexts. The ritual significance of the conflation of the functions of the fireplace—as both hearth (*hestia*) and altar (*eschara*)—is generally acknowledged, especially for Cretan “hearth temples” of the 8th and 7th centuries,⁹⁰ but it is clear that the Archaic Hearth Shrine at Azoria did not simply reproduce the normative form of the Cretan Geometric temple, which was a dining room meant to house sacrifices and ritual meals, as well as formal banquets. It is possible that the combined hearth and bench at Azoria symbolized a household kitchen, such as room 34 in Building L on the Kastro, which has an identical arrangement of features.⁹¹ The Azoria shrine could have re-created the formal and functional aspects of the LG kitchen and storeroom, establishing a kind of conceptual or symbolic Early Iron Age ancestral “household,” but breaking with the ideologically symbolic and physically exclusive functions of the hearth temple.⁹² The presence of Geometric and Orientalizing figurines on the altar, as well as the PGB krater from D1000, might serve to strengthen this deliberate reference to the EIA past, as do the stone kernoi found in the hall of the Monumental Civic Building (Fig. 15). The recycled objects were antiques in their destruction context, but probably not heirlooms per se; that is, they did not confer significance by virtue of their connection to specific individuals, kinship groups, or unbroken lineages. It is more likely that such artifacts and perhaps the architecture of the shrine itself expressed generic notions of antiquity independent and irrespective of their specific origin; their meaning was general and intrinsic, reshaped or reconstrued in the new systemic context of the civic center.

It is also important to note that the normal assemblages of hearth temples, such as Temples A and B at Kommos (weapons, warrior iconography, and horse, chariot, and bovine figurines),⁹³ emphasize exclusive male commensality and a dominant ideology of a social elite, probably a warrior aristocracy derived from landowning Early Iron Age households. In marked contrast, the figural plaque and anthropomorphic figurines from the Hearth Shrine (both Archaic and Geometric types) are exclusively female and lack martial attributes, reasonably suggesting connections to a female divinity.⁹⁴ If this is the case, then the Hearth Shrine might be seen as accommodating rituals that were symbolically referential to the household, while placing them in a new urban public context and thus relating them to the concerns of the larger civic community.⁹⁵

90. Prent 2005, pp. 448–449; 2007, pp. 141–143.

91. Coulson et al. 1997, pp. 345–349. Room 34 was part of a large four-room house of LG date, with connected kitchen, storeroom, and hall. It was abandoned in the 7th century at about the same time that the first public buildings at Azoria were being constructed.

92. See Prent 2007, p. 141, on the symbolic connection between the form of the hearth temple and house.

93. Shaw 2000, pp. 172–175; Shaw 2000b, pp. 711–713; Prent 2007, pp. 147–148. Cf. Carter 1997 on the martial iconography of the sculpted frieze at Prinias Temple A.

94. Prent (2005, pp. 416–417) makes such a gender attribution, emphasizing the appearance of kernoi (found along with moldmade terracottas and cylindrical figurines) for offerings of grains and other vegetal foods. Perlman (2010, esp. pp. 103–107), however, discusses a Late Archaic inscription from Axos showing that females participated in offering spoils of war; she also emphasizes the martial aspects of votive behavior in Cretan cult contexts that accommodated female figurines dedicated to female divinities.

95. On the civic communal hearth, or *koine hestia*, see Prent 2005, pp. 449–456; 2007, pp. 141–142. A kitchen in a house on the North Acropolis at Azoria (E100) has the remains of a hearth sacrifice, as well as a votive plaque representing a female (Haggis et al., forthcoming).

FORM AND FUNCTION

The attribution of function to nondomestic architectural spaces in the Archaic period remains problematic. This is true for the Monumental Civic Building as well as for earlier 8th- and 7th-century hearth temples, which were socially segregated dining rooms involving combined ritual and political activities.⁹⁶ Our reluctance to assign strict definitions to these spaces stems from ambiguities in the archaeological record, as well as from formal typologies that cannot always be correlated with epigraphical evidence.⁹⁷ The reductive tendency to shape our perception of public spaces—such as *ekklesiasteria*, *bouleuteria*, *prytaneia*, and *andreia*—around individual, epigraphically documented buildings, normative 5th- and 4th-century architectural forms, or perceived (culturally Greek) civic institutions is quickly confounded by the sheer variety of archaeological and cultural contexts and sociopolitical configurations evinced throughout the Greek world, especially in the Archaic period where the evidence is sparse at best. The situation becomes even more complicated when diachronic developments are considered, such as the emergence of new Cretan civic institutions that probably continued to integrate ritual dining into changing and expanding spheres and scales of social display and political interaction. There also seems to have been a slow, regionally and chronologically varied process of Cretan adaptation of nominally Greek civic institutions and building types and names.

The Monumental Civic Building is large (ca. 200 m² of roofed space), architecturally elaborate, and equipped with fixed benches, comfortably seating some 60 to 80 individuals. Depending on the specific activity or occasion, the arrangement of seated or standing participants, and the use of the central pillared area, it may have accommodated up to 150 people at any one time. The plan and scale of the building, however, have no Early Iron Age predecessors or contemporary parallels on Crete. Indeed, the form may be new on the island; the building's appearance is certainly related to the restructuring of the urban topography and the construction of new civic institutions and identities that occurred before the start of the 6th century B.C. On the other hand, our sample of Archaic Cretan archaeological contexts is extremely limited—simply put, there is no other excavated contemporary (6th–early 5th century) urban site on the island to compare with Azoria. Smaller-scale Archaic buildings on Crete at Aphrati and Ayia Pelagia might offer very rough parallels, although the functions attributed to these buildings are as problematic as their seating arrangements: the Aphrati building has been called both a temple and an *andreion*, while the Archaic-phase building at Ayia Pelagia was called a *prytaneion* by the excavator.⁹⁸

While we acknowledge that Archaic Crete was politically, socially, and culturally distinctive,⁹⁹ and therefore should somehow be materially distinctive, it is also important to realize the extreme chronological and regional variations and uncertain archaeological attributions of Greek civic buildings and spaces throughout the Aegean. This should perhaps lead us to seek broad functional analogies in the use of social and political space, avoiding strict adherence to 5th-century cultural or architectural labels. It might, however, be useful to look for potential archaeological analogies from

96. Prent 2005, esp. pp. 455–462; Sjögren 2008, pp. 82–86.

97. Antonaccio (1997, esp. pp. 176–180, 183), for example, discusses problems in assigning the functions of a *prytaneion* to the culturally if not ethnically complex context of the Four-Room Building at Archaic Morgantina.

98. For Aphrati, see Lebesse 1969, 1970; Viviers 1994, pp. 244–249; Prent 2005, pp. 279–280. For Ayia Pelagia, see Alexiou 1972; Hansen and Fischer-Hansen 1994, pp. 42–43.

99. See Perlman 1992, 2005; Sjögren 2008, pp. 82–86; and Whitley 2009a, p. 290, on the notion of Cretan exceptionalism and problems in defining the archaeology of Cretan political culture.

the wider Greek world, while focusing attention on the middle range—that is, material patterns of depositional behavior with definable archaeological correlates that might allow us to model how these buildings could have been used on a basic level.

The essential form of the hall—a large roofed space with fixed internal seating along the walls—recalls characteristics of *bouleuteria* in later Greek contexts such as at Argos, Lato, and Messene.¹⁰⁰ The stepped structures at Dreros in the saddle between the acropoleis, east of the so-called *prytaneion* and Delphinion, are generally presumed to have been unroofed open spaces, essentially functioning as an agora, but their size and seating capacity compares with the scale of the Monumental Civic Building.¹⁰¹

As a communal banquet hall, the Monumental Civic Building apparently served functions that we normally associate with a variety of typically Greek civic venues (and associated polis institutions) that combined cultic, social, and political activities in contexts of public commensality. It has a dining hall accommodating a number of participants, as well as material evidence of feasting and sacrifice.¹⁰² Furthermore, it mixes domestic and public architectural elements: its physical monumentality and fixed seating are distinctly formal and public in character, while the architecture of the Hearth Shrine reflects a traditional (Early Iron Age) domestic architectural ensemble.¹⁰³ Finally, the complex of buildings along the west slope has three hearths for the preparation of food—two within the rooms of the Service Building (B1500 and B2200/2300),¹⁰⁴ and one within the kitchen of the Hearth Shrine (D1000). An additional hearth in room D900, directly connected to the altar, is clearly an *eschara* or sacral hearth for making food offerings to a female divinity.

The fixed seating of the main hall of the Monumental Civic Building resembles that of various public buildings at Lato, although the latter are all much smaller in size, probably not earlier than the 4th century, and as with most Greek civic buildings, their functions remain uncertain.¹⁰⁵ The exedra in the orchestra area at Lato, interpreted by the excavators as a *bouleuterion*, has fixed seating lining the walls; even though no roof tiles were recovered, it is still possible that the building was roofed.¹⁰⁶ Its proximity to the stepped theater area or *ekklesiasterion* at the base of the temple terrace suggests public if not civic functions.¹⁰⁷

The so-called *prytaneion* on the northern edge of the agora at Lato provides another context for comparison.¹⁰⁸ The building is divided into two large rooms (rooms 36 and 37), each about half the size of the main hall at Azoria, and each fitted with fixed stone benches and central hearths.

100. Hansen and Fischer-Hansen 1994, pp. 37–43, 63–65.

101. Demargne and van Effenterre 1937, pp. 10–11, 28; Perlman 2000, p. 73. See also the discussion of Dreros, p. 61, below.

102. The form and context of the building suggest the integration of civic and cultic functions. Along these lines, Perlman (2000, p. 72; 2004) has

emphasized the display of early law codes in cult buildings located in close proximity to civic spaces (e.g., at Dreros and Gortyn).

103. Miller 1978, p. 28. On the formal similarity of houses and *prytaneia*, see Hansen and Fischer-Hansen 1994, p. 34.

104. See the discussion of the Service Building below.

105. Ducrey and Picard 1971, 1972.

106. Ducrey and Picard 1971, p. 524.

107. Hansen and Fischer-Hansen 1994, p. 65.

108. Ducrey and Picard (1972, p. 579), Miller (1978, pp. 78–86), and Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994, p. 35) accept the original attribution of Demargne 1903.

The division of activities—one room for dining (room 37), another for cult (room 36), and two others for storage (rooms 38 and 39)—offers rough similarities to room functions at Azoria. The provisioning (storage and preparation) of food at Azoria was located in the Service Building and Hearth Shrine (Figs. 2, 9), and so is much larger in scale and more elaborate than at Lato, but the juxtaposition of rooms 36 and 37 mirrors the placement of the Hearth Shrine (D900) and the large dining/ceremonial hall (D500) at Azoria (Fig. 9). The cult room (room 36) had a large hearth-like altar, a concave stone offering table (perhaps originally affixed to the hearth), and a number of figurines (including female and animal), as well as libation bowls.¹⁰⁹ Although it clearly accommodated a number of seated or standing spectators, its basic assemblage is functionally similar to that of the altar room of the Hearth Shrine at Azoria (D900). The difference is that the space of D900 was smaller and more restricted—the hearth and altar were presumably accessible only to functionaries in the cult—but, as noted above, the direct connection between D900 and the main hall (D500) suggests the public performance of rituals.

It is the juxtaposition of spaces and basic functions—dining room and cult room, storage and food preparation—rather than specific architectural details, that makes the Lato *prytaneion* an appropriate model for the main hall and Hearth Shrine of the Monumental Civic Building and the Service Building. The Azoria buildings evidently had more space for larger numbers of participants, as well as for specialized food preparation and storage, but direct access to the shrine's hearth and the altar was limited.¹¹⁰ In contrast, the building at Lato seems to compress and centralize storage, food preparation, and ceremonial areas; furthermore, it restricts movement into the dining-room space, limiting the number of participants, while expanding access and permitting larger numbers of spectators in the cult room. In drawing this comparison we do not mean to present a one-to-one correspondence of institutional names or specific forms of political organization.¹¹¹ Indeed, it is important to consider the cultural and chronological distance that separates these two buildings, keeping in mind the potentially different sociopolitical relationships and configurations that governed their use, as well as the historical conditions that eventually encouraged Cretan cities to adapt normative Greek polis nomenclature if not aspects of institutional structure. The Lato buildings can, however, provide a picture of civic architecture and the structuring of communal spaces that we might use as a framework for beginning to visualize the activities in the Monumental Civic Building and related complexes.¹¹²

109. Demargne 1903, p. 216; Miller 1978, p. 82; Prent 2005, pp. 461–462.

110. Although the large size and seating capacity of the main hall in D500 excludes it from the normative typology of *prytaneia*, which suggests a small and circumscribed group of magistrates, such buildings did support a range of ceremonial activities involving groups of various sizes, such

as state-sponsored banquets or receptions for envoys, judges, and civic magistrates. See Miller 1978, pp. 22, 168–170.

111. For Cretan *prytaneia* in general, see Willetts 1955, pp. 198–199; Miller 1978, pp. 22, 168–170; Shaw 2000b, pp. 680–682; Prent 2005, pp. 455–457; Haggis et al. 2007a, pp. 299–300; Sjögren 2008, pp. 82–83. Buildings that

have been identified as *prytaneia*, from across the Greek world, have no regularly fixed architectural forms or predictive or prescriptive material correlates or archaeological assemblages; see the summary discussion in Miller 1978, pp. 1–3, 26, 128–131; and Hansen and Fischer-Hansen 1994, pp. 42–43.

112. Miller 1978, p. 28.

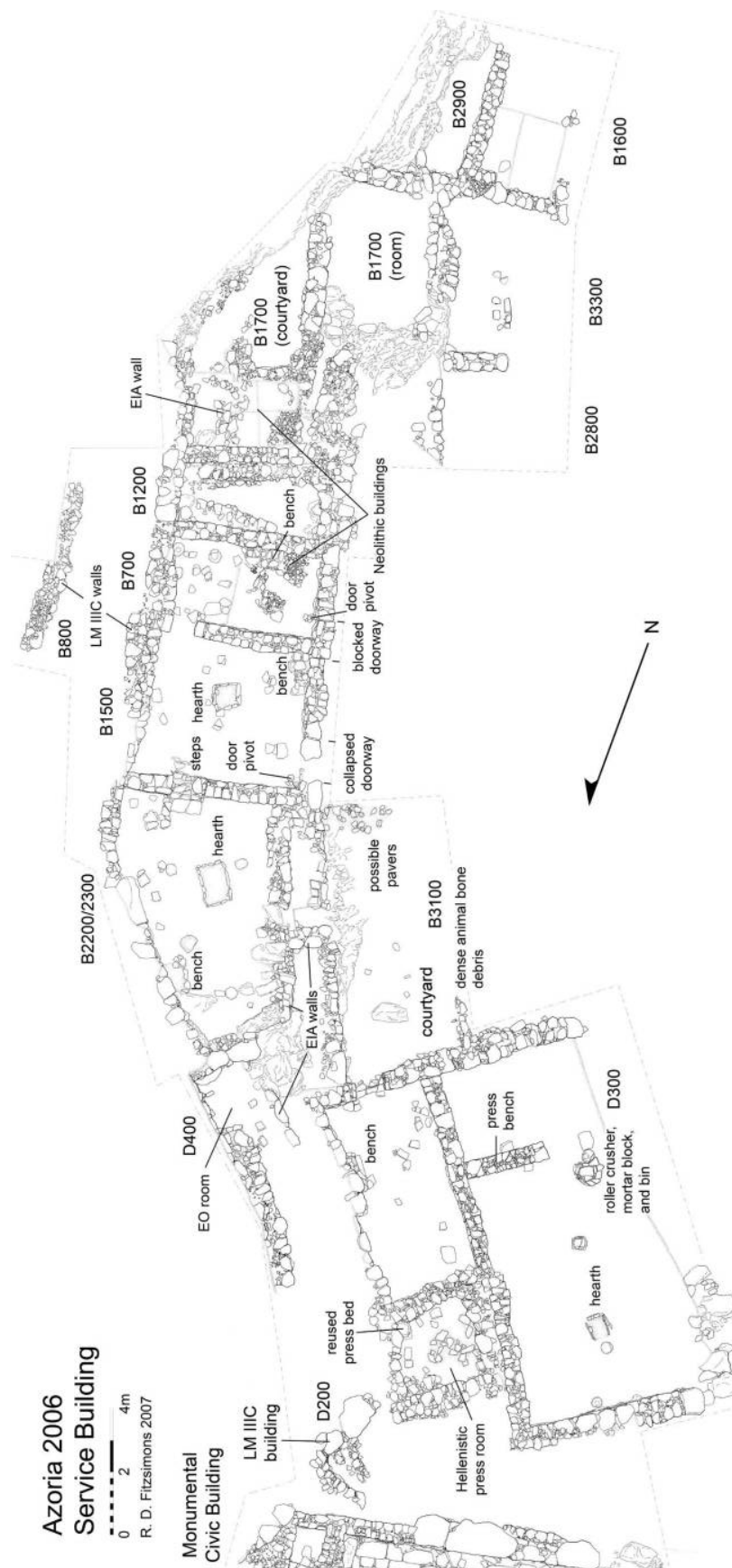


Figure 26. State plan of the Service Building. R. D. Fitzsimons

THE SERVICE BUILDING

Immediately south of the Monumental Civic Building is the Service Building (Fig. 2), which consists of a series of storerooms (D300, B700, and B1200), kitchens (B1500 and B2200/2300), and food-processing areas (D300 and the room in B1700) that are connected by a long corridor linking two internal courtyards located at the southern (in B1700) and northern (B3100) ends of the complex (Fig. 26). The area to the west of this corridor is eroded, but given the disposition of surviving but fragmentary rooms B2800, B3300, and B1600 on the terrace below (Fig. 2), it is likely that another series of rooms once extended all along the slope, their eastern walls effectively closing off access to the corridor. The entrance to the Service Building was through the spacious courtyard B3100 from a north-south street that would have run along the west side of D300 (Fig. 26). The finds from the Service Building rooms are significant because they provide evidence for the large-scale and centralized mobilization and production of food, including the butchering and roasting of meat; the storage of banqueting equipment; and the production of textiles. Because of context and proximity, we think that the contents of these rooms were used and consumed in state-sponsored activities conducted in the adjacent Monumental Civic Building.

The central row of rooms, which we have presented in some detail in an earlier report,¹¹³ consists principally of areas for the storage and processing of food. Two spacious and interconnected kitchens (Fig. 26: B2200/2300 and B1500) were fitted with rectangular hearths and a wide range of storage vessels, tools and containers for the processing and cooking of food, and serving vessels. Food debris on the floor of B2200/2300 was typical of kitchens elsewhere on the site; traces of grain, pulse, olive, grape, and almond probably derive from stray bits lost during food preparation and subsequently carbonized when the building burned. Larger quantities of these same foodstuffs (including both wheat and barley) were found in B1500, along with fig and pistachio, suggesting either that there was more debris on the floor of the B1500 kitchen when it burned, or that foodstuffs were both stored and prepared in this room. It is worth noting that the size and condition of the olive pits suggest the presence of whole fruits, and the deposit of grape pips, skins, and stems is most likely derived from wine lees (Fig. 27). The adjoining storeroom in B700 had a number of pithoi, amphoras, and hydrias, as well as mortars and other processing equipment. Abundant food remains among the broken vessels indicate the storage of a range of foodstuffs virtually identical to those found in the adjacent kitchen: wine lees, olive, barley, chickpea, lentil, fig, and possibly also pear.

The focus of work in this area in 2005 and 2006 was to explore two rooms at the far northern and southern ends of the complex, D300 and the room in B1700. These rooms communicate directly with the courtyard spaces in B3100 and B1700 at either end of the corridor (Fig. 26).

113. Haggis et al. 2007a, pp. 274–295.

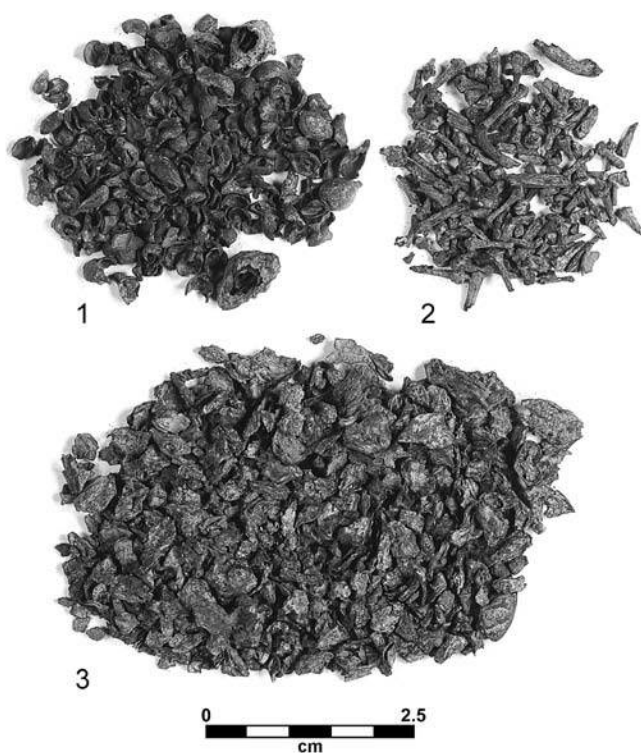


Figure 27. B1500: (1) grape pips and skins; (2) grape stems; (3) grape skins.
Photo S. Davis

B3100

The area to the west of the large kitchen B2200/2300 was excavated in 2005. Here we exposed an 8.75-m-long retaining wall running parallel to the west side of the kitchen. The wall evidently formed a narrow veranda, as well as the eastern limit of a wide courtyard (B3100) that provided access to the east room of D300 in the north and the corridor along the west side of the Service Building (Fig. 26). The surface of the courtyard, approximately 30 m² in area, is shaved bedrock on the south and east sides, leveled off with clay on the north and fill on the west. Although the western edge is eroded, a segment of a terrace wall (originally at least 4 m long) was partially preserved in the northwest corner of the courtyard, evidently constructed to retain the fill used to level off the bedrock surface. Small flattish cobbles with worn upper surfaces were found on the far southern edge of the courtyard and may represent the remains of the original road pavement. While few artifacts were found in the courtyard itself, at its western edge and just below it, a substantial dump deposit was uncovered.

The fill of this dump consisted of butchering and cooking debris, which we suspect represents the remains of roasting, butchering, and meat sizing. The faunal assemblage was unusual in its number of well-preserved bones of cattle, pig, and goat/sheep. Pig elements included a cranial fragment and a first cervical vertebra, which bore cut marks on its inferior surface indicative of butchering to remove the head from the spinal column. Cattle elements, indicating high meat-yield limb segments, included a proximal scapula and humerus diaphysis fragment; in addition there was a radius diaphysis fragment and a first phalange that bore cut marks suggesting either separation of the low meat-yield lower limb, or perhaps hide removal.

Sheep/goat bones included both cranial and postcranial elements. A sheep/goat metacarpal exhibited partial burning concentrated on the broken distal end of the element; it is possible that this portion, along with other limb elements from this context, represents a larger limb segment roasted over an open fire. Likewise, a right astragalus was partially heated or burned and may be part of an articular unit that was evidently roasted. A sheep/goat left tibia diaphysis fragment was similarly burned in a way suggesting that it belonged to an articulated joint of meat roasted over an open fire.

Other faunal materials from this context included sheep/goat mandibles and isolated teeth, as well as upper front-limb elements indicating high meat-yield units. The debris dumped in the fill along the west side of the B3100 courtyard is evidence of both primary butchering as well as the roasting of joints. Roasting is indicated by patterns of burning that are consistently limited to areas of the bone that would have been close to the end of the joint and thus exposed to higher heat or open flame. The most likely place for spit roasting was in the kitchen adjacent to the courtyard (B2200/2300), which has a distinctive oblong rectangular fireplace accommodating large segments of animals (Fig. 26). The faunal remains from the kitchen—mostly sheep/goat horn cores, cranial debris, and limb elements—are consistent with the bone dump in B3100. Although the bones show evidence of burning, given their context and exposure to heat in the destruction layer of the room, these examples are not reliable indicators of open-fire roasting. The fragmentary faunal material found in the hearth itself was burned and included leg segments: a sheep or goat humerus, a tibia, and a second long-bone diaphysis fragment.

B1700

Earlier work in B1700 (south and southwest of B1200) had exposed the surface of an Archaic courtyard that concealed a complex series of Early Iron Age and Final Neolithic occupational levels.¹¹⁴ On the southwestern edge of the courtyard, a large square room came to light, about a meter lower than the Archaic ground level (Fig. 26: B1700). The east, west, and south walls are well preserved. While the upper courses of the northern wall are no longer extant, a 0.70-m-high cut-bedrock socle indicates the position of the line of the wall and the northern limits of the room.

The entrance into the room was probably in the northeast corner, where the bedrock has been worked to form a bedding for steps made of boulders and a limestone slab. We excavated only the northern third of the room in an exploratory sondage, in order to preserve an old olive tree that occupies the central and southern half of the room. The room was originally quite large (ca. 4.50 m north–south and ca. 3.30 m east–west); it has a clay floor, and a large schist slab was fitted into a worked rise in the bedrock on the north. The pecking on the surface of the slab indicates that it was a work platform, and the finds from the exposed area of the clay floor surface consist entirely of stone tools: two handstones, a burnisher, and a small whetstone. While the room was likely used for food processing, its limited range of artifacts, proximity to the courtyard, and separation from the other kitchens and storerooms could indicate a specialized function.

114. Haggis et al. 2007b, pp. 674–677, 696–697.

THE OLIVE PRESS (D300)

At the opposite end of the corridor is the northern courtyard (B3100), which provided access to a large two-room structure (D300) (Figs. 26, 28). Excavation in 2004 had recovered the top extant wall lines of the Archaic eastern room as well as a square compartment of Hellenistic date, which was constructed over the northern third of the room directly on top of Archaic destruction debris.¹¹⁵ In its Archaic phase, the oblong east room was quite substantial, some 30 m² in area (3.20–3.40 m east–west and ca. 9.50 m north–south), and accessible directly from the courtyard through a well-built doorway and a short stairway of two *sideropetra* risers, whose surfaces show considerable signs of tread wear (Fig. 28). The door was evidently fitted with a wooden frame whose original position is indicated by a pattern of peck marks still visible on the jambs (Fig. 29). The room has a stone-built bench (ca. 1.20–1.40 m long, ca. 0.85 m deep, and ca. 0.45 m high) set against the southern part of the east wall. Four flat stones near the western wall most likely served as pithos stands.

Finds from the room consisted of an iron ring, two iron arrowheads, a piece of an iron nail, a fragment of sheet bronze, three large quartzite querns, and a number of pithoi, one of which was mostly preserved and found broken across the northern half of the room (Figs. 28, 30). At ca. 1.63 m in height, this is among the largest pithoi recovered from the site. It is also elaborately decorated with appliqué and some incised and stamped motifs, most of which are restricted to one side of the vessel, suggesting a conceptual front and back and an element of display.

The size and shape of the east room and the presence of the pithoi and stone stands indicate that the principal function of the room was storage. The querns were found lying immediately south of the bench near the east wall of the room; their position and the lack of handstones or other implements from the floor deposit suggest that they had been stored in the room, perhaps waiting to be used in one of the adjacent kitchens (B1500, B2200/2300), the courtyard (B3100), or in the west room of D300. One of the querns is very large, one of the largest from the site, measuring about 41 × 30 cm. The bottom is worked flat and the top is pecked and abraded and has a slight concave long section. As is typical of the reworking of the face, the top is abraded smooth, almost to a polish at the outer edge.

Numerous fragments of olive pits were also recovered from this room (Fig. 31). The lack of complete or nearly complete pits and the consistent small size and dull rounded edges of the pieces suggest they derive from press cake, rather than whole olives.¹¹⁶ Furthermore, the concentration of the olive fragments was in the southern end of the room, that is, away from the smashed pithos, suggesting that the debris was originally on the floor, or perhaps stored in sacks rather than in the pithos (Fig. 28). While olive is clearly the primary foodstuff represented, sparse quantities of grape, wheat, barley, pulse, almond, and fig were also recovered from the room, indicating the storage of other foodstuffs as well.

At a lower level is the larger west room, which is nearly twice the size of the east room, to which it is connected by a small half doorway or window (*thyrida*) built into the party wall (Fig. 28). This western room

115. Haggis et al. 2007a, pp. 294–295.

116. For the morphology of press cake, see Margaritis and Jones 2008.

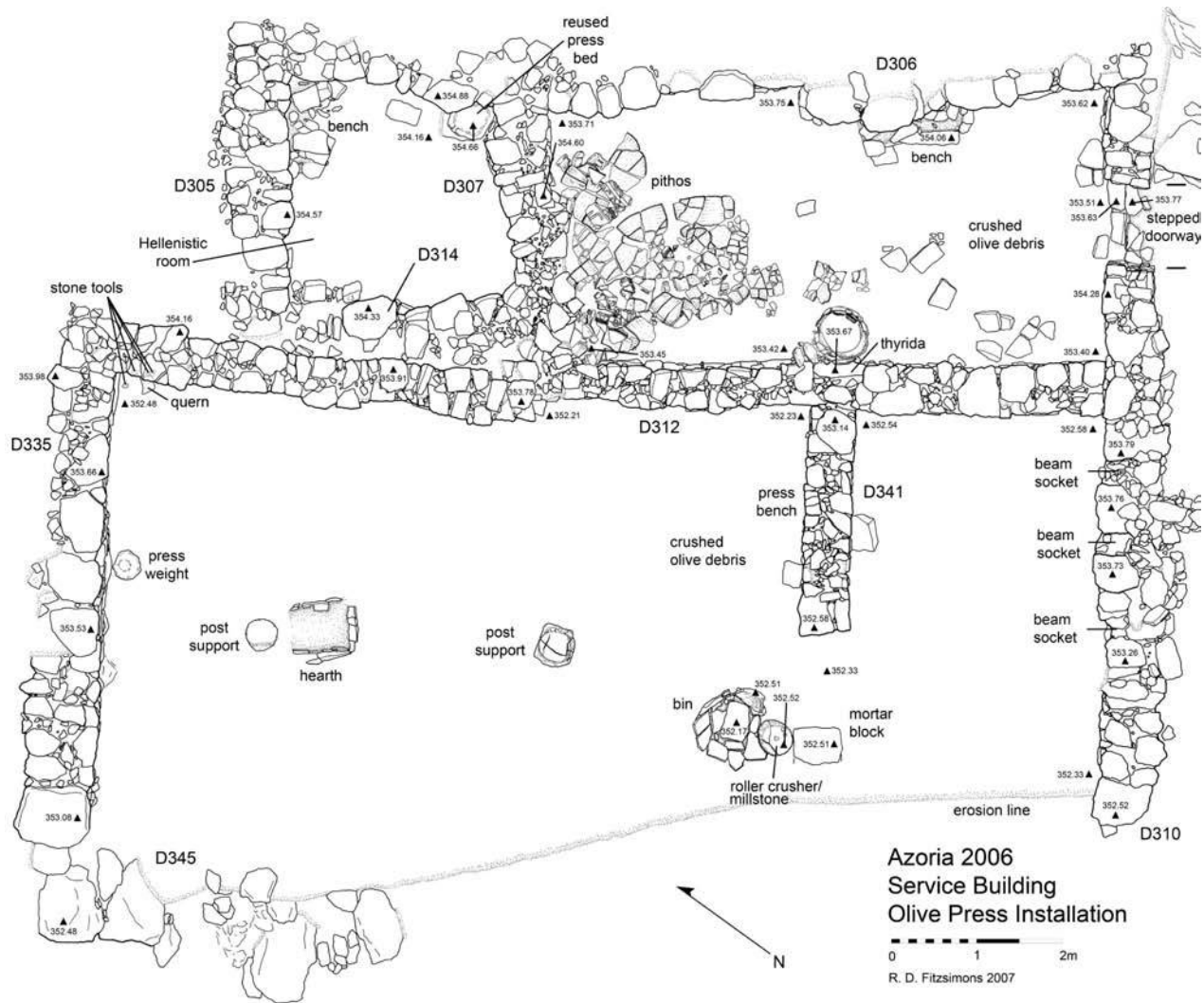


Figure 28. D300: state plan. R. D. Fitzsimons

measures ca. 5.50 m wide (east–west) and ca. 11.50 m long (north–south). Most of its western wall is no longer extant, but a line of dolomite boulders running ca. 4.20 m south from the western end of the room’s north wall preserves the course of its foundations. The absence of extant doorways means that the room’s main entrance was set somewhere in the southern portion of the west wall, accessible directly from a street running along the west side of the building. The room has two large post supports on its long axis, and a stone-lined hearth (Figs. 28, 32). In the southern part of the room, the space is bisected by a long bench that runs perpendicular to the east wall, immediately below the window into the east room (Figs. 28, 32). Parallel with this bench, the south wall of the room has three neatly constructed niches or sockets, each about 28 cm wide and about 40–45 cm deep (Figs. 28, 29). Adjacent to the bench on the west is a stone mortar block, a cylindrical stone (roller crusher), and a slab-built bin (Figs. 28, 32, 33).

The features and contents of the western room suggest the elements of an installation for processing olive oil: a “lever and weights” press (or “beam press”) with a “roller and bed”-type crusher.¹¹⁷ The press bench was

117. Foxhall 2007, pp. 134–139, 178–181.

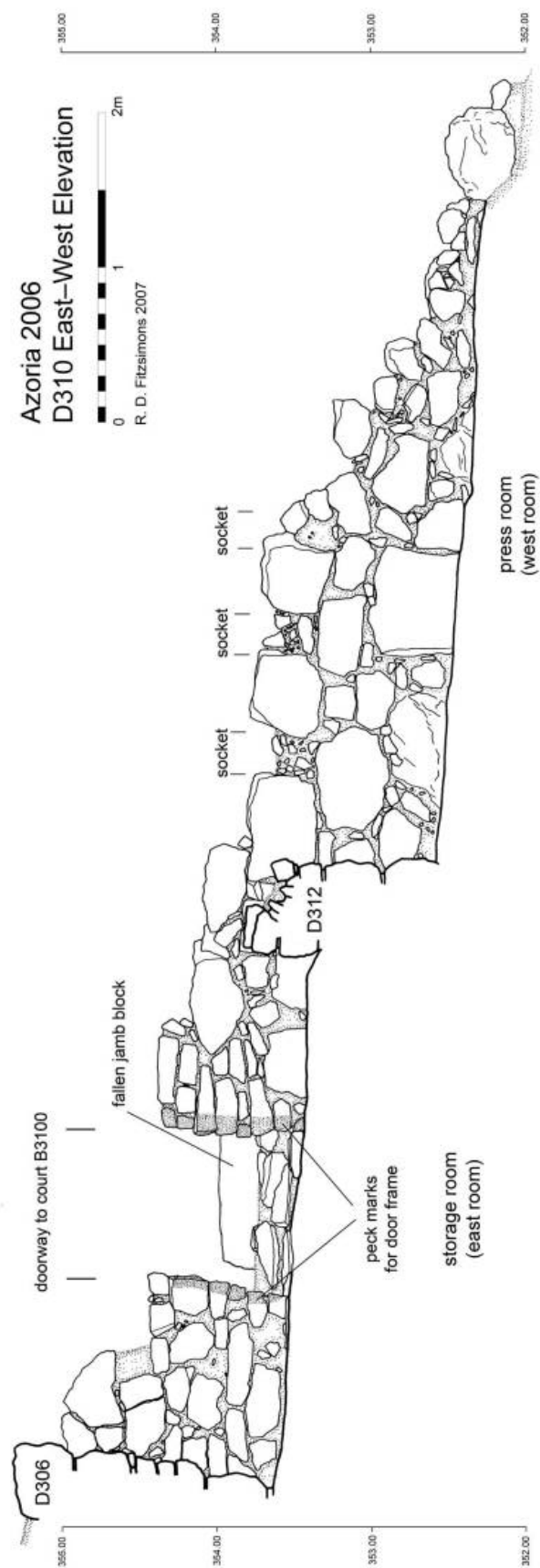


Figure 29. D300: elevation of the south wall (D310). R. D. Fitzsimons



Figure 30. D300: pithos. Photo D. C. Haggis

constructed of tightly packed dolomite and *sideropetra* stones laid in even courses to a height of about 0.40–0.45 m; a large, flattish slab of dolomite (ca. 0.20 m high) was set atop the eastern end of the bench directly beneath the window into the eastern room (Fig. 32). The floor level immediately north of the press bench was approximately 0.30 m lower than that to the south—that is, the press bench rose about 0.65–0.75 m above the floor on the north side. The depression formed by the lower floor level at this juncture probably served to provide additional space and maneuverability for collection or separation vessels.¹¹⁸ On the southern edge of the top surface of the press bench, a few stones project slightly higher, probably positioned to facilitate setting the presses at a slight angle to the north. On the floor, two limestone blocks were found flush on opposite sides of the press bench: one block is nested on two stones against the north face of the bench toward the west (Fig. 28), and the other is embedded in the floor toward the middle of the south side of the bench (Fig. 32). Given their positions, it is possible that they supported wooden posts or uprights that braced the beams when their height was adjusted, or when sacks of olives were moved in and out of the presses.

In our reconstruction of the use of the room, the sockets in the south wall (Figs. 28, 29) would have accommodated substantial square-hewn beams extending out from the wall over the press bench and beds. Large, regular, rectangular blocks were used to frame each of the sockets and no

118. See Foxhall 2007, pp. 143–147, on the effective use of two different floor levels at Halieis for oil collection.

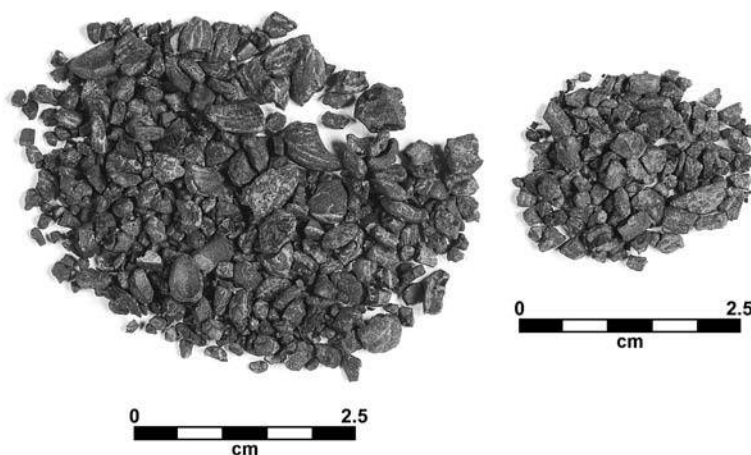


Figure 31 (*left*). D300: crushed olive pits. Photo S. Davis

Figure 32 (*opposite, top*). D300: west room from the south. Photo D. C. Haggis

Figure 33 (*opposite, bottom*). D300: bin, roller crusher, and mortar block from the east. Photo D. C. Haggis

doubt to provide the support necessary for stabilizing each of the beams. Foxhall has noted that the level of the press beams used in lever-and-weights presses could be periodically adjusted as the height of the olive sacks gradually diminished.¹¹⁹ The sockets in the south wall are preserved to a height of ca. 0.40 m, but they could easily have stood much higher originally, since the wall is not preserved above this level. It seems possible, then, that during the initial pressing, the beams could have been set at a relatively high level by inserting stones into the lower sections of the niches; the beams could then have been lowered as the height of the olive sacks diminished by removing these stones. The slight variation in the extant height of the press bench itself may indicate that presses could also have been set at various levels for the same purpose.

Although no presses were recovered in situ on top of the bench itself, we did find two fragments of rectangular press beds in a layer of wall collapse and destruction debris at precisely the level of the top of the bench, and presumably displaced from it (Fig. 34:3). A third intact press bed was found reused and built into the later Hellenistic room that was constructed on top of the destruction debris in the northern end of the eastern storeroom (Figs. 28, 35). The reused press bed is identical in form to the fragments from the Archaic tumble layer: it measures about 35–40 cm² and would have fit easily across the width of the bench. The square-trough type with tapering rim is not easily dated in post-Bronze Age contexts, in which flat circular and teardrop-shaped presses become more common, especially in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.¹²⁰ Further evidence for olive-oil processing in the room includes a stone weight found lying directly on the floor against the north wall (Figs. 28, 32, 34:4). The stone is a pierced dolomite boulder (ca. 36 cm high, 30.5 cm wide; 18.3 kg) that is naturally worn and roughly shaped.¹²¹ The off-center hole, for fastening a rope, has been worked into a wide rectangle (14 × 9.0 cm).

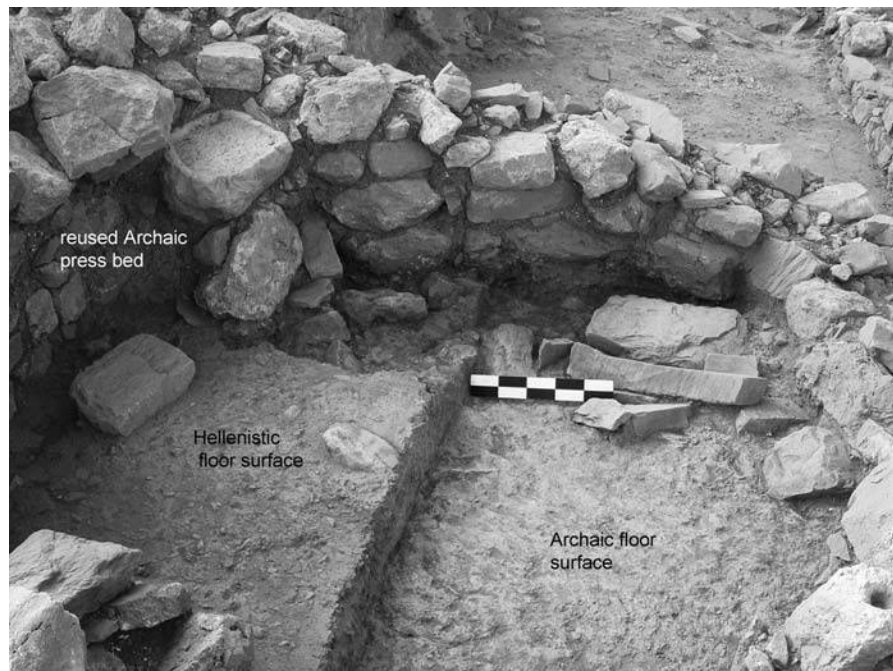
West of the press bench there is an installation consisting of a rectangular stone block (mortar block), a cylindrical millstone/roller crusher, a beachrock quern, and a schist- and sherd-built bin (Figs. 32, 33). The stone block is *sideropetra*, about 60 cm long, 20 cm high, and preserved to 40 cm in width, but it is clearly broken off at its western edge. It has three dressed sides and the underside has been roughly hammered in a fashion similar

119. Foxhall 2007, pp. 137–138.

120. For the rectangular-trough press bed, see Hadjisavvas 1992, pp. 23–24, 57, fig. 100. That the press-bed fragments at Azoria were used for olive pressing is confirmed by A. Koh's preliminary analysis of residue on the objects, which has shown spikes of oleic acid in the samples.

121. For press weights, see Hadjisavvas 1992, pp. 7–8, 60–73; Foxhall 2007, pp. 134–139.





to the large querns and mortars found on the site. The top surface of the stone is smooth, with some random pecking, and worn to form a shallow concavity along the length, indicating its function as a mortar.

Just next to the mortar block is a large semicylindrical *sideropetra* stone (Figs. 32, 33, 36). The stone seems to have had two functions, depending on its orientation when in use. One end of the cylinder, the top surface as it appeared in situ, measures approximately 33–35 cm in diameter. It is worked flat and smooth and has three regular depressions or sockets, one near the center and the others at the outer edge; the depressions are each about 6 cm in diameter and about 2 cm deep (Fig. 36). The other end of the cylinder, the bottom surface of the stone as it was found, is slightly smaller (ca. 28–33 cm diameter); it is flat and has been pecked and abraded.

Figure 34 (*top*). Olive-oil processing equipment from Service Building: (1) *trapetum mortarium* (B700); (2) oil separator (B700); (3) fragments of press bed (D300); (4) press weight (D300). Photo C. Papanikolopoulos

Figure 35 (*bottom*). D300: Hellenistic press room from the north. Photo D. C. Haggis

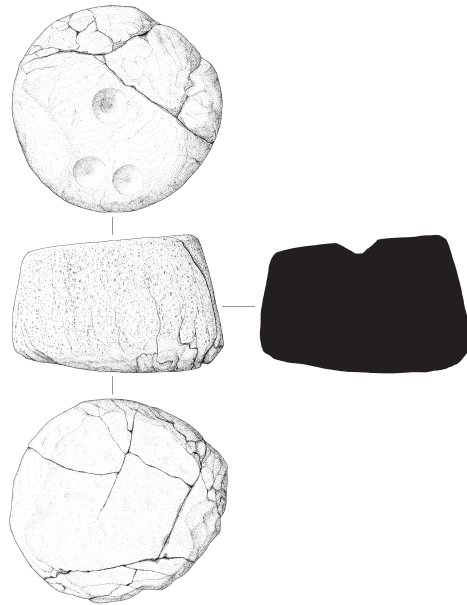


Figure 36. D300: roller crusher (H. 28 cm). Drawing D. Faulmann



Figure 37. D300: roller crusher in use. Photo C. Papanikolopoulos

The side of the cylinder measures between 24 and 28 cm high. Near the end with the sockets—the top end—the side has a rounded edge, and a roughly hammered beveled edge at the bottom. The side of the cylinder is pecked, worn, and slightly battered on its working surface, which is about 17–20 cm wide along three-quarters of the circumference; the rest of the cylinder's side has been roughly shaped into two broad facets. We think that the principal use of this cylindrical stone was as a roller for crushing

olives: it was rolled, or more properly rocked across the surface of the adjacent rectangular block, using the pecked side of the stone as the actual working surface (Fig. 37). The crushed material could then have been conveniently swept into the adjacent bin.¹²²

The cylindrical stone was found, however, resting directly on the top of a conglomerate (beachrock) quern measuring about 35 cm in width and length and about 5–8 cm in height; its edges were worked flat with two corners and one rounded edge, forming a D-shape. The quern was supported by small schist and *sideropetra* slabs that had clearly been used to level off the north and south sides of its eastern edge. The end of the cylinder with the sockets was facing up, and the other was lying flush with the top surface of the beachrock quern underneath (Fig. 32). The top of the quern is abraded smooth from use, and the bottom of the cylindrical stone is both pecked and abraded, suggesting an intentional use of this facet for grinding. Given the stone's position and its exact fit atop the quern, it is possible that the roller crusher had a secondary use for grinding. The depressions or sockets on the top of the cylinder, as well as the bevel at the bottom edge, would have provided grips to facilitate rotating the stone and keeping it positioned on the quern surface. The stone's weight would have been effective for grinding grain into flour, indeed to a finer grain and in greater amounts than could be obtained using the standard stone-tool kits found in this room and in other kitchens on the site.

The cylindrical stone and quern were found wedged between the stone block and bin (Figs. 32, 33). The bin is a roughly circular basin, measuring about 0.45 × 0.60 m at floor level; its sides are constructed of schist slabs and one pithos sherd set on end, splaying to a diameter of about 0.80–0.90 m (Fig. 33). The pithos sherd, consisting of part of the neck and rim, depicts a centaur in relief (Fig. 38). The entire structure was evidently supported on the exterior by a packing of phyllite clay. The bin could have been lined with a piece of fabric or a sack to contain and bind the olives for placement on the adjacent presses. Deposits of crushed olive, similar to that found in the eastern room (Fig. 31), were recovered across the floor of the west room, but especially in the area immediately north of the press bench and east of the basin (Fig. 28).

A rectangular stone-lined hearth (ca. 0.65 × 0.50 m) is situated immediately south of the northernmost post support (Figs. 28, 32). Its sides are formed by a series of *sideropetra* and schist slabs set in upright fashion, in much the same manner as most of the fireplaces on the site, although in this case the hearth is open on its north side. The hearth is probably positioned so that it does not interfere with the press beams, which could have projected beyond the bench as much as 2–3 m, affording an ample amount of weight and leverage.¹²³ As Foxhall has pointed out, the hearth was not merely convenient or incidental to a process in which a constant source of hot water would have been required.¹²⁴ Water would have been periodically poured over the olives on the bed, thus causing more oil to be released during successive stages of pressing. Nearby we found numerous fragments of a large rectangular terracotta stand that was burned on the interior (Fig. 39). It was hand-built from slabs of clay, and although only a small number of joins could be made among the fragments, enough was

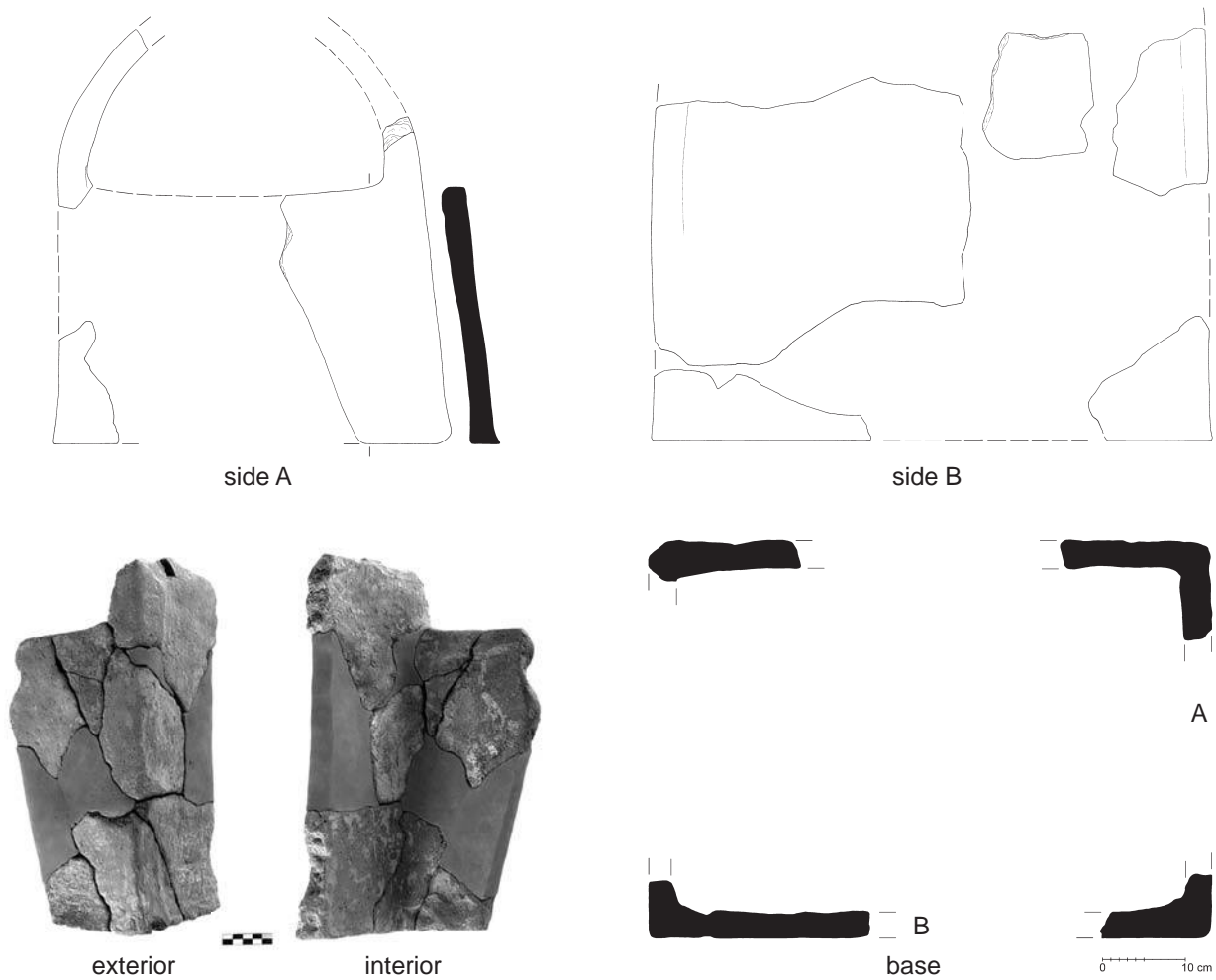
122. The authors thank Lin Foxhall (pers. comm.) for her review of the evidence of olive-oil processing in D300 and for initially suggesting that the stone was used as a roller crusher. On roller crushers, see Forbes and Foxhall 1978, p. 39; Hadjisavvas 1992, pp. 7–8; Foxhall 2007, pp. 179–180.

123. Foxhall (2007, p. 156) comments on the length of the beam and position of the counterweight in lever presses.

124. Foxhall 2007, p. 138. For a discussion of the hearth and the use of water in the Cypro-Classical installation at the Nicosia-PASYDY site, see Hadjisavvas 1992, pp. 28–30.

Figure 38 (*right*). D300: detail of centaur in relief on pithos sherd from bin. Photo D. C. Haggis

Figure 39 (*below*). D300: cooking-stand fragment. Photo C. Papanikolopoulos; drawing R. Docsan



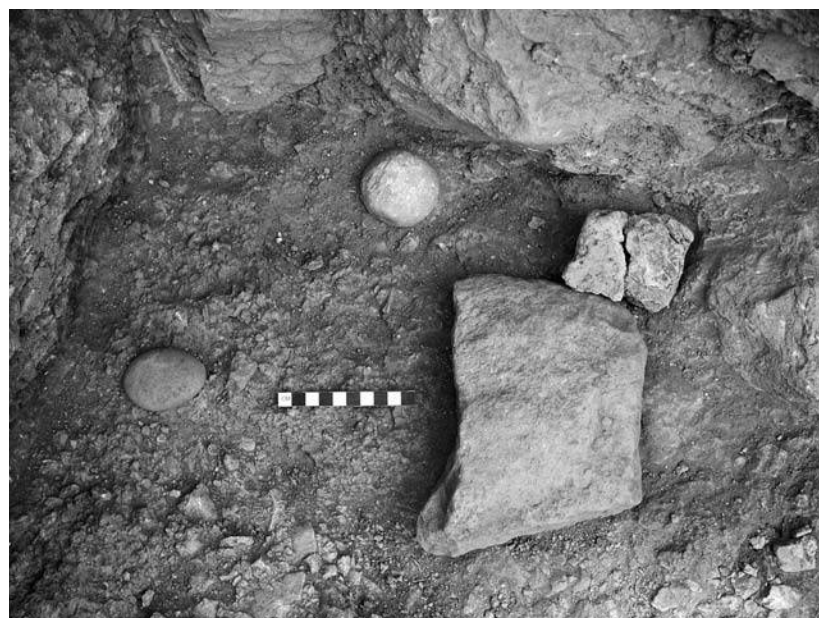


Figure 40. D300: stone tool kit in situ in the northeast corner of the west room. Photo D. C. Haggis

preserved to suggest basic elements of the object's shape. We reconstruct it as an open-sided cooking stand that could have been positioned directly over the hearth to support a cooking pot containing water (Fig. 39).¹²⁵

While no separation tank or jar was found in situ below the press bench, a complete olive-oil separator was recovered in the adjacent storeroom in the central rooms of the Service Building (B700) (Fig. 34:2), and a base fragment of another separator, probably reused, was found in the small Hellenistic room built over the north end of the eastern room of D300. The spouted jar from B700 is typical of oil separators from the Archaic and Classical periods; the best evidence comes from Cypro-Classical contexts at Kition and Nicosia and representations in vase painting.¹²⁶ Possibly related to the olive processing in D300 is a small green-purple phyllite mortar (*trapetum mortarium*) that was found lying near the oil separator in B700 (Fig. 34:1). It is about 41 cm in diameter, with a worked basin about 6 cm deep and 16–18 cm in diameter. The interior of the basin is abraded on the upper edge and has the characteristic central peg or pin formed from using a rotating grinding stone.

Olive-oil processing was the principal function of the room, but this was a seasonal operation. Other uses of the space are indicated by both the plant remains and tool kits. In addition to the evidence for the use of the cylindrical stone for grinding on the beachrock quern, two other querns and a number of handstones were recovered, as well as fragments of grains and grapes. A set of stone tools found in the northeast corner of the room is similar to assemblages from domestic and civic contexts elsewhere on the site: a small flat conglomerate quern (ca. 18 cm long × 13 cm wide), a spherical quartzite pebble pecked all over the surface,¹²⁷ a cobble of pumice, and a marble pebble with abraded margin and roughly abraded bottom with several parallel scratches (Fig. 40). From the floor deposit in the north half of the room came hard hammerlike implements, one of basalt and the other of amphibolite, with crushed and battered ends

125. For cooking stands, see Scheffer 1981, pp. 81–84; the focus is on examples recovered in Italy, but Greek stands are also discussed. Several Archaic cooking stands and fragments have been found in the Athenian Agora; see, e.g., *Agora XII*, pp. 232–233, 377, pl. 97:2016, 2023; Sparkes 1962, p. 130, pl. 5:4, right and left. Although the fragments from Azoria do not match any of Scheffer's types or the Agora stands exactly, these ceramic objects are all bottomless supports used to hold a cooking pot over a fire. The rectangular base of the Azoria fragments suggests a design intended for use with a rectangular hearth.

126. Hadjisavvas 1992, pp. 75–76; Foxhall 2007, p. 138.

127. See Blitzer 1995, pp. 440–441, for type 4 implements.

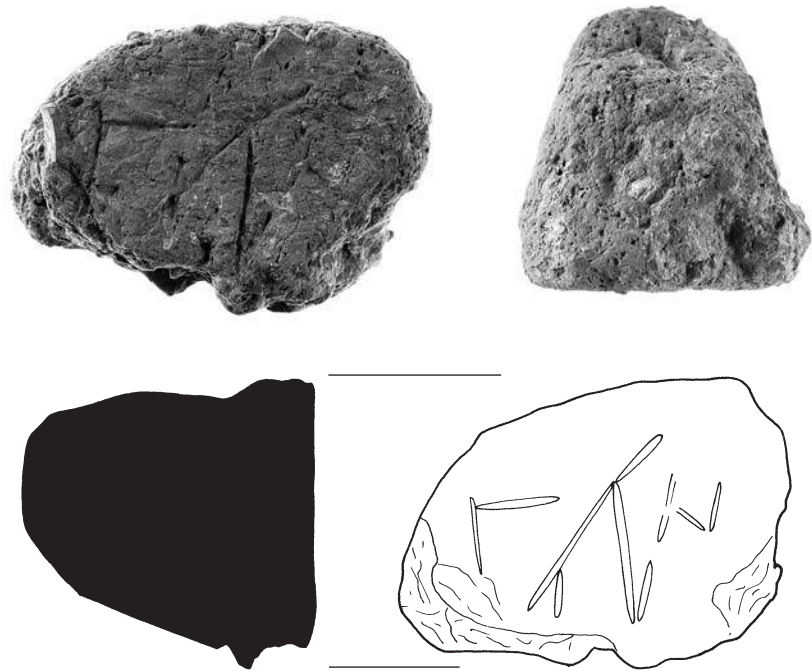


Figure 41. D300: inscribed stopper or lid. Scale 1:1. Photo C. Papanikolopoulos; drawing R. Docsan

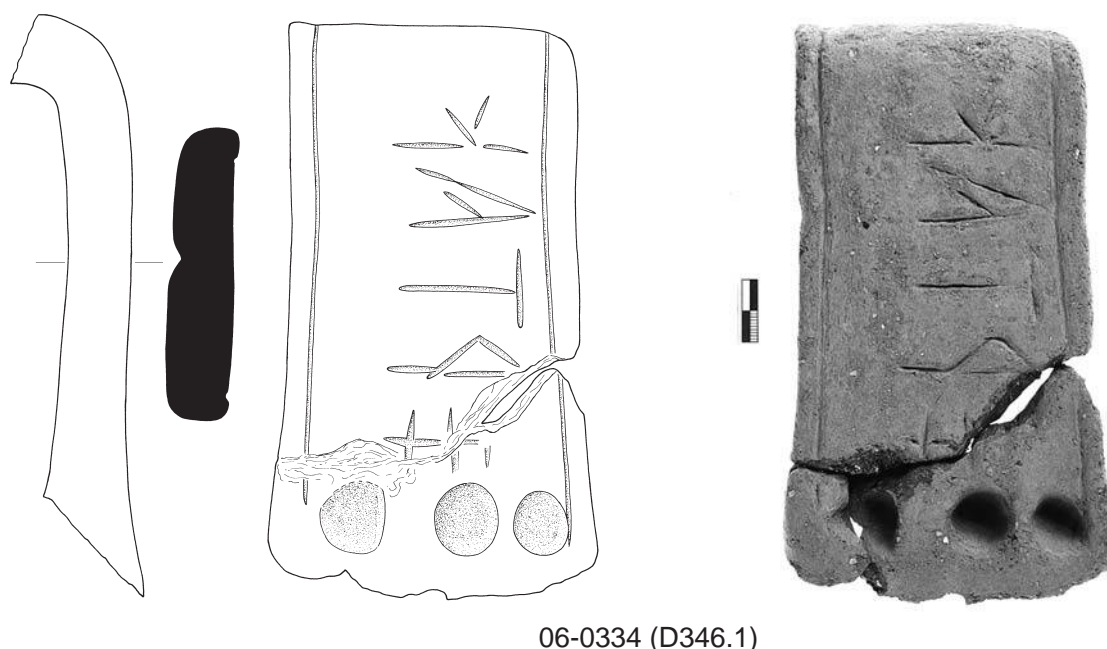
and abraded margins,¹²⁸ and a fragment of a small marble handstone. On the south side of the room, south of the press bench, there was another small conglomerate (beachrock) quern about the same size as that in the northeast corner, and nearby, a flattened oval cobble with one battered end, an abraded end and facet, and evidence of pecking all over the surface.

Unlike the cylindrical stone and beachrock quern, which would probably have been used for heavy grinding, perhaps for the production of flour, the other tool kits from the room were probably used for breaking up grains and pulses into coarser particles for boiling. As in the household assemblages from Azoria, cobbles of pumice were found in both the north and south areas of the west room of D300, and in some cases they were closely associated with the querns (Fig. 40). Grain and pulse remains were concentrated in the north end of the room, in association with the stone tools and hearth. Grape pips (but not skins and stems, which would suggest wine processing), were concentrated in the southwest corner of the room near the eroded west edge.

Three inscribed sherds were found in the floor deposit of the west room of D300. One is a fragment of a large coarse-ware stopper or lid with the incomplete inscription ΓΑΗ, incised before firing on the top surface (Fig. 41).¹²⁹ We suspect that this is a label, perhaps an abbreviation or name indicating ownership or contents of a vessel. The second sherd is the pithos fragment depicting a centaur, discussed above, which was reused as part of the wall of the slab-built bin (Figs. 33, 38); its rim has a vertical handle with ΕΡΤΑΚ inscribed neatly in retrograde before firing (Fig. 42). Another handle fragment with an identical inscription, presumably from the same pithos, was found elsewhere on the floor of the room. The inscription is a complete text, given that space is visible between the finger impressions at the base of the handle and the first letter xi, and similarly after the kappa

128. See Blitzer 1995, pp. 438–440, 458–461, for types 3 and 9, which are metamorphics with ground or battered ends.

129. The gamma (γ1, Ionic Dodekapolis or γ2, Doric Hexapolis) is not typically Cretan (Jeffery 1990, pp. 325, 345). All of the extant letter forms were in use in the Ionic Dodekapolis in the 6th century: for γ1 and λ3 in the Cheramyes dedication from the Heraion, 570–560 B.C., see Jeffery 1990, pp. 328, 341, no. 4; for η2 in the graffito of a Teian at Abu Simbel, ca. 591 B.C., see Jeffery 1990, pp. 340, 344, no. 58.



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Figure 42. D300: inscribed pithos handle. Photo C. Papanikolopoulos; drawing R. Docsan

at the top of the handle. While only the lower half of the xi is fully visible, the better-preserved example shows the vertical stroke descending below the bottom horizontal stroke at the midpoint.¹³⁰ Though the letter xi is found in Cretan inscriptions after ca. 450 B.C.,¹³¹ in this Archaic context we expect that it is epichoric.¹³² Jeffery interpreted the letter, from Phoenician *samek*, as part of the alphabet received originally in Crete but apparently used only in Eteocretan.¹³³ The angular rho (ρ1) is also an early form, the rounded rho predominating from the 5th century B.C. onward. Although not probative, the clusters of consonants (xi-rho-tau) may be characteristic of Eteocretan.¹³⁴ To date, we have recovered 17 inscribed sherds (graffiti and dipinti) from Azoria. Most examples come from stratified 6th- and early-5th-century contexts, providing a broad terminus ante quem for their production and use.¹³⁵ The commonness and diversity of graffiti at the site, in some cases inscribed directly on early-5th-century vessels,¹³⁶ suggest informal and practical uses of writing throughout the Archaic period.¹³⁷

130. Against reading the letter as epsilon, Niki Oikonomaki observed (pers. comm.) that the lowest horizontal stroke extends to the right of the vertical.

131. Examples occur in stone inscriptions from Gortyn: *IC* IV 143, 144, 145, 149, and 150.

132. The letter xi, in a variation of Jeffery's form 9 or 10, is used on a fragment of an inscribed block from Axos. See Jeffery 1961, p. 32; Manganaro 1965, p. 304, fig. 12:a; Jeffery 1990, p. 468, pl. 79:2. Johnston (in Jeffery 1990, p. 469) notes the possibility of

Argive influence on this letter form. The letter also occurs in the local scripts of the Ionic Dodekapolis, Corinth, and Argos.

133. See Jeffery 1961, p. 32. The tailed form of xi (ξ1) corresponds closely to the Phoenician letter, and the retrograde writing also recalls the direction of Phoenician script. For the Theran inscriptions, see Jeffery 1990, pp. 316–317. The tailed forms of xi are ξ1 (Jeffery 1990, p. 32) and ξ2 (p. 308, Doric Islands, Southern Aegean).

134. Praisos: *IC* III vi 2, lines 1, 3; *IC* III vi 5, line 5. From Dreros: μμαϛ,

in line 1 of text: van Effenterre 1946, p. 131. For discussion of the ethnic diversity of early Cretan cities, see Duhoux 1982 and Erickson 2009, pp. 386–388.

135. West 2007.

136. Such as the inscribed black-figure skyphos from B1500 (04-0319); see Haggis et al. 2007a, pp. 283–285; West 2007, pp. 312–313.

137. On the question of private uses of writing and the notion of public literacy, see Perlman 2002, esp. pp. 194–197, contra Whitley 1997.

Even though there is evidence for various kinds of food processing from the west room of D300, its architecture and features show clearly that olive-oil pressing was its principal function. The installation at Azoria preserves evidence for all stages of oil processing (crushing, pressing, settling, and separation), providing the only well-preserved example of a lever-and-weights style press from the Archaic Greek Aegean.¹³⁸ This evidence is of some importance, as its context predates the widespread use of the rotary crusher and screw presses that have shaped the notional Hellenistic and Roman model of the procedures, equipment, scale, and volume of olive-oil extraction in ancient Greece. The only other reported Archaic beam press is at Klazomenai, where the ambitious reconstruction of the wooden elements is at best problematic.¹³⁹ Perhaps most important is that the olive press at Azoria is located directly within a complex of civic buildings. This would suggest the appropriation of olives for state-sponsored processing, as well as the consumption of oil in formal civic venues, such as the neighboring kitchens and the Monumental Civic Building.¹⁴⁰

The principal uses of oil probably included food preparation, lighting, and special adornment and cleansing. Olive oil was a semiluxury product in Classical Greece,¹⁴¹ and its use would have indicated the character and formality of an activity, as well as the participants' status and social and political identity.¹⁴² Embedded in its various uses were social-symbolic values derived from the mobilization and processing of olives: the expense of slave or serf labor and cost of transportation, the specialized equipment used in pressing, and the time-consuming and labor-intensive extraction process. These are indicated at Azoria by the evidence of methodical crushing, slow pressing, and low output relative to labor input. Within its large and architecturally elaborate physical context, the olive press forms part of a public building that was related spatially, functionally, and visually to civic and ceremonial activities conducted on the west slope of the South Acropolis.

Although it is possible that the installation could have served as a communal press, merely centralizing production for the wider community and allowing redistribution to the various households on the site, this seems unlikely, given its context within the Service Building, the relative cost and difficulty of transporting olives from distant rural estates, and the overwhelming evidence of household production in Bronze Age and Classical contexts. Olive oil would, however, have been needed for a variety of formal meals prepared in the kitchens of the Service Building itself. A possible example might be the stews found in the situla and lekane on the floor of the main hall of the Monumental Civic Building (Figs. 16, 17).¹⁴³ Oil could also have been used for personal adornment in preparation for

138. See Foxhall 2007, p. 136, for the paucity of archaeological evidence of olive-oil processing in Archaic and Classical Greek contexts.

139. Koparal and İplikçi 2004; the Klazomenai context lacks direct material evidence of a hearth, press bed, press bench, millstone, weights, and olives, all of which are present at

Azoria. See Foxhall's (2007, pp. 140–143) critical analysis of the evidence.

140. Contra Crielaard (2009, p. 362, citing Morris 1991, pp. 38–39), who counterintuitively denies significant suprahousehold specialization of craft production or agricultural processing.

141. Foxhall 2007, esp. pp. 86–95.

142. Drawing on Hamilakis's work,

Foxhall (2007, p. 86) states, "The literal embodiment of specialness through the consumption of olive oil, internally and externally, often took place in social situations where that specialness was highlighted: formal and the symposium (oil for food, lighting, and perfume), and the gymnasium."

143. Haggis et al. 2007a, p. 297.

public ceremonies, perhaps dispensed from the various lekythoi found in the Service Building or from the exaleiptron (Fig. 25) found in the kitchen of the Hearth Shrine. Finally, lighting would have been crucial, not only for practical applications—small table lamps have been found in both the Service Building and Hearth Shrine (Fig. 25)—but also for conducting formal ceremonies within the main hall of the Monumental Civic Building.¹⁴⁴ Though the rooms of the Service Building were surely used for food storage and preparation, they also seem to have been pantries containing a variety of fine skyphoi and cups, kraters, and pouring and food-serving vessels. In these ceramic assemblages there are large bowl-shaped bar-handled lamps; similar lamps are found in the Communal Dining Building, although not yet in domestic contexts.¹⁴⁵ These large lamps were certainly meant to be carried with two hands, and given their special form, with the handles curving below the level of the base, they might also have been hung from the rafters of rooms in both the Communal Dining Building and the Monumental Civic Building.

We imagine that olive-oil processing at Azoria was the purview of the household, most likely on rural estates near the trees or orchards (or within buildings in the city not yet excavated); what we have found so far is archaeological evidence for storage and consumption within both domestic and public buildings. The olives found in household assemblages across the site were no doubt a staple for regular family consumption, but the largest quantities by far come from storerooms in the Communal Dining Building and the Service Building. Thus, we can assume that olives would have had a special place in the political economy of early Cretan cities, where the best arable land would have been given over to subsistence foods such as barley and wheat and small garden crops. Although it is well known that payments of oil, or tithes, were derived from the sacred trees in the Athenian context of the Panathenaia,¹⁴⁶ our Cretan sources are not forthcoming. A 3rd–2nd-century B.C. inscription from Dreros (*IC I ix 1*), however, hints at the relationship between olive cultivation and the city's political territory: in the context of a conflict between Dreros and Miletos over land, the inscribed oath of the ephebes against Lyttos requires individuals, presumably members of the *agela*, to plant an olive and ensure its continued cultivation under penalty of a fine of 50 staters. The Archaic Spenthisios decree does mention payments of food (such as meat or must wine) into and out of the *andreion*, but we can only infer from the archaeological evidence that oil or olives were part of these obligations, perhaps as contributions to communal feasts. There is, however, a late (1st century B.C.) decree from Axos (*IC II v 35*) dealing with arrangements for a festival and obligations of the *kosmoi*; individuals are mentioned in the inscription as being required to furnish olive oil for a public ceremony.

The recovery of the oil-press installation in the Service Building is especially significant given that indications of oil processing are summarily lacking in the domestic contexts that have been excavated at Azoria. The rooms of D300 form an architecturally complex and physically prominent part of the Service Building, occupying the northernmost spot along the main north–south road that leads to the entrance to the Monumental Civic Building (Figs. 1, 2). The scale of processing required a level of technological

144. On the use of olive oil for lighting in various social and ceremonial contexts, see Foxhall 2007, pp. 92–93.

145. Haggis et al. 2007a, pp. 260–261, 288–289. While we have referred to these vessels formally as *lekanes* or *kalathoi*, the burning on the interior of the bowl indicates their use as lamps.

146. Foxhall 2007, pp. 117–121.

and architectural elaboration that has left a recoverable archaeological footprint.¹⁴⁷ This evidently scaled-up and presumably state-managed oil production was an important part of the physical identity of the civic complex and the urban transformation of the site. Why was oil production centralized and controlled? Was oil production geared to certain occasions or religious festivals? Were the olives derived from public lands or sacred trees? Certainly a volume of production that exceeded normal levels of household use would have required larger and more permanent equipment; it is also possible that normal household production, even on rural estates, could not meet the demands required by the dining and lighting needs of the Monumental Civic Building. We conclude that the ritualized nature of oil processing for consumption in state ceremonies necessitated its own special equipment and building. What seems clear is that the scale of production and degree of elaboration required a substantial investment in architecture, physical machinery, and personnel.

FORM AND FUNCTION

The Service Building is unusual in its size and architectural complexity, and in the variety of functions related to food storage and processing that it served. As in the case of the Monumental Civic Building, there are no clear formal predecessors or contemporary parallels for the complex. The so-called *prytaneion* at Dreros, dated normally to the 7th century B.C., might have served a similar function, while rooms 38 and 39 at Lato were apparently storerooms provisioning rooms 36 and 37 in the *prytaneion*.¹⁴⁸ The Dreros *prytaneion* is a five-room building situated just south of the temple and near the steps of the putative agora. While the precise date (7th–3rd century) and function of the various rooms remain unclear, based on published reports storage, processing, and cooking seem reasonably certain: room VIII/X is clearly a corridor or vestibule that provides access to rooms XI (storage magazine), room IX (oil press and/or other industrial use), and room V (kitchen/storage). The proximity of the structure to what appear to be public buildings in the saddle (the Delphinion and agora) led Demargne and van Effenterre to propose a civic function for the complex.¹⁴⁹ While Miller was rightly skeptical of the *prytaneion* attribution,¹⁵⁰ the various constructions in the saddle between the two acropoleis seem to form public buildings of some kind; they include two large structures with stepped benches for seating. Although they are generally interpreted as unroofed spaces—Demargne and van Effenterre drew vivid parallels to the stepped structures and theatral areas bordering Minoan palace courtyards¹⁵¹—too little of either the steps near the cistern (stairway G) or the putative agora was recovered to indicate their actual form or whether they were interior or exterior spaces.¹⁵² What we can say is that the topography of civic buildings at Dreros presents a possible parallel for the functions represented by the Service Building and Monumental Civic Building at Azoria: the buildings with benches in the saddle at Dreros were certainly public or communal places of some kind, while the adjoining Delphinion and so-called *prytaneion* served functions generally similar to the functions of the Hearth Shrine and Service Building at Azoria.

147. Normally such evidence of agricultural machinery is unobtrusive or unattested in Archaic and Classical contexts, as household production would have employed less permanent and more portable equipment. See Forbes and Foxhall 1978, pp. 41–42; Foxhall 1993, pp. 190–192; 2007, p. 136.

148. Demargne and van Effenterre 1937, pp. 16–26. Cf. the detailed discussion by Miller (1978, pp. 93–98), who suggests continuous occupation at Dreros, and most recently Sjögren 2008, p. 161. See Miller 1978, p. 85, for the service rooms of the Lato *prytaneion*.

149. Demargne and van Effenterre 1937, p. 18.

150. Miller 1978, pp. 97–98.

151. Demargne and van Effenterre 1937, p. 11.

152. The re-excavation of Dreros is currently under way (see n. 28, above), with work concentrated on the saddle, cistern, and west hill.

The Service Building represents an important component of the political economy of the early city. Storage in pithoi is evident throughout the complex, but rooms B700, B1200, and D300 (east room) were probably built specifically as storage magazines (Fig. 26). Food preparation is indicated by the permanent hearths and cooking equipment in B2200/2300, B1500, and D300, and specialized processing is evident at both ends of the complex in D300 and B1700. While the exterior spaces of B3100 and B1700 might have served as work areas, there are no specific indications of such activities, beyond the discarding of butchering and roasting debris. The courtyard in B1700 contained a deposit of some 20 goat mandibles,¹⁵³ and above we discussed a bone dump at the western edge of B3100. The building also housed pantries for food-processing equipment, such as mortars (one a *trapetum*) and an olive-oil separator in B700 and querns in D300, as well as a plethora of drinking and dining vessels, including kraters, large lamps, a *podanipter*, and a krater stand.¹⁵⁴ The food remains in the kitchens and stores (B700, B1500, and B2200/2300)—grape, olive, wheat, barley, chickpea, lentil, fig, almond, and pistachio—represent a diverse assemblage of consumable products, readily available for final processing and consumption. Although wheat and barley as well as processing tools such as querns are present in the rooms, there is no evidence of large-scale grain storage, and the primary processing of grain does not seem to have been a major activity of civic concern. The small querns and mortars found in these spaces (e.g., Fig. 40) seem more appropriate for small-scale cracking or pounding of cereals, pulses, or other foods during the preparation of meals. The scarcity of grains and the complete absence of chaff debris at Azoria points to decentralized, if not rural, primary storage and processing of grain for flour, a pattern that is remarkably different from Early Iron Age domestic contexts on the Kastro, where chaff predominates in floor deposits.¹⁵⁵ The contrasting EIA and Archaic patterns of grain production and processing suggest significant changes in the economic organization of households and their relationship to the city.¹⁵⁶

The processing of olive oil, however, stands in marked contrast to other food-producing activities. Its separate structure (D300) takes up almost 100 square meters of space (Figs. 28, 32), and while olives might have been stored for a short time before pressing, the remains from D300 consist entirely of crushed olive—either discarded debris or the remains of press cake gathered and stored to be used as fuel in hearths throughout the complex (Fig. 31). Thus, with the exception of olive-oil extraction, the Service Building seems to have been used for the final stages of preparation of food for large-scale dining, most likely meals, banquets, and other occasions of feasting that took place in the Monumental Civic Building. This unusual concentration of food processing and, we can infer, the organization and mobilization of both produce foodstuffs and labor suggest a state-level enterprise that, by the 6th century B.C., must have been driven by a new civic institutional structure.

153. Haggis et al. 2007a, p. 277.

154. Haggis et al. 2007a, pp. 274–294.

155. Flint-Hamilton 2000. For grain processing in domestic contexts at

Azoria, see Haggis et al., forthcoming.

156. Cf. Motta 2002 for patterns of change in processing behavior from the 8th to the 6th centuries in Rome.

CONCLUSIONS

The Communal Dining Building and Monumental Civic Building are situated next to one another along parallel terraces on the southwest slope of the South Acropolis (Figs. 1, 2). Together they comprise the main public buildings of the city center. Access to them was likely from the south, a wide expanse of relatively level and open ground, perhaps an agora, lying south and west of the Cult Building; admittedly, however, identifiable streets are not sufficiently preserved on the outer edges of the western terraces for us to know for certain the routes of access. Nor have we been able to identify any direct connection between the two complexes. What is interesting is that while both buildings have considerable space allocated to similar functions and contexts of organized dining, they exhibit different organizations of space and assemblages of animal bones and seeds, and potentially different social groupings and contexts of dining. Furthermore, the different locations and access patterns of the cult rooms suggest very different dynamics of use.

The Communal Dining Building and Monumental Civic Building mirror each other's basic functions: both have substantial pithos storage and apparently reduplicated kitchen and storage spaces, cult installations, and ceremonial rooms that show indications of drinking and dining activities. The physical elaboration of the architecture, the volume of dining debris, and their unusual artifact assemblages distinguish these buildings from domestic contexts on the site. Even though the two structures share general characteristics, they have very different forms that were designed for different kinds of feasting. The layout of the ceremonial rooms in the Communal Dining Building is complex and compartmentalized, indicating the division of activities and the segregation of social groups and participants. Food-processing and storage facilities are centralized on the lower terrace, interconnected, and physically separate from the ceremonial rooms. While a substantial part of the western edge of the building is not preserved, it is clear that the communication patterns within the building are dendritic, with exclusive access to the rooms of the upper terrace mediated (and controlled) by the porch and vestibule (Fig. 3). The altar room (A1900N) is fully integrated into the space of the upper terrace. This room was essentially a physical extension of the vestibule, lying between A800 and A2000, and it most likely received a heavy volume of traffic during the daily activities conducted in the building.

The Service Building shows a similar concentration of reduplicated kitchens and storerooms—an allocation of space distinctly separate from the main ceremonial areas (Fig. 26). The adjacent Monumental Civic Building has a single undivided hall that was clearly designed to accommodate large groups of people in assemblies that were probably more openly communal, or perhaps less restricted or segregated than those of the Communal Dining Building. The Hearth Shrine is directly connected to the main hall but has restricted access; a single doorway in the north wall of the hall is its exclusive entrance (Fig. 9). The rooms of the shrine are small, and practical use would have been limited to a few people. The Hearth Shrine has its own kitchen (D1000) that was separate from the food-preparation areas of the Service Building, and thus no doubt was used for producing special meals or specific

offerings for consumption by priests or select members of the community. The terrace in front of the shrine, if open, could well have been a staging area for public viewing of ceremonies, but the actual votive process seems to have been the exclusive purview of functionaries or magistrates, an elite who rationed the use of votives and controlled the ritual.¹⁵⁷ It is still possible, however, that offerings could have been paraded in and out of public view within the main hall of the Monumental Civic Building.

In general, the ceremonial areas of the Communal Dining Building are internally differentiated. Separate rooms probably accommodated different groups, sodalities, or even perhaps different modes or occasions of drinking and dining. The remains of meals are concentrated in A800, A2000, and A1900S, with a dump of debris in the adjacent abandoned kitchen in A600S. Krater stands were scattered across the upper terrace, with concentrations in the same rooms that contained the dining debris. The krater stands exhibit distinctly different styles and sizes that might be related to the differentiation of kinship groups or other corporate identities involved in feasting.¹⁵⁸ The organization of space in the building thus presents a picture of differential access and divisions of groups of participants. The layout demonstrates the careful structuring of social space, yet maintains the openness and accessibility of the cult room; the two clearly identifiable dining rooms flank the vestibule (A1900S) and the adjoining ground altar in A1900N (Fig. 3). Given the extent of disturbance from deep plowing and erosion along the western edge of the lower terrace, it is likely that other dining rooms have been lost, such as the poorly preserved hall west of A2000.

The main hall of the Monumental Civic Building presents an entirely different picture: open participation of people irrespective of group or subgroup identity. This is not to say that distinctions were not expressed, for example, through the differentiated portioning of meat, such as the leg segments, or other foods, or even by means of arranged seating within the building. But the open plan and fixed seating around the sides indicate a structured communal experience and public witnessing of ritualized activities. Although artifact remains on the floor of D500 were sparse, dining debris is found throughout the hall. The only decidedly exclusive space within the building is the Hearth Shrine, where the routes of access would have permitted public display inside D500, but would have restricted direct use of the altar and participation in the preparation and deposition of votives and food. In contrast, the altar room in the Communal Dining Building (A1900N) was accessible to anyone entering the vestibule, shows a considerably greater variety of burned food offerings, and contains no nonfood votives. This pattern suggests holocaust sacrifices, perhaps first-fruit offerings associated with meals regularly consumed in the adjacent dining rooms.

The existence of separate drinking/dining rooms in the Communal Dining Building implies the presence of socially equal or similar subsegments or social corporations within the community, such as members of different kinship groups, clans, tribes, or *hetaireiai*. The architecture of the Monumental Civic Building, on the other hand, while probably accommodating various kinds of ceremonies, would have enhanced and

157. Erickson (2009, pp. 385–386) discusses the social connotations of large numbers of homogeneous terracotta votives at Vavelli Praisos and Roussa Ekklesia; cf. Prent's (2005, p. 416) characterization of social integration, as suggested by different types of votive assemblages in suburban sanctuaries.

158. Haggis et al. 2007a, pp. 256, 263.

emphasized the common or collective experience. Thus, community integration and identity are reflected in both buildings, but in different ways. On the one hand, the open plan of the Monumental Civic Building encouraged communal feasting in which status distinctions were probably emphasized through the nuances of rituals, and perhaps through the ceremonial allocation of sacrificial meat or special meals. On the other hand, segregation was the rule in the Communal Dining Building. The multiplicity of separate dining rooms within a single building, all associated with similar kinds of vessels and foods, made it possible for participants to dine together, but separately—to be part of the civic community, while at the same time expressing corporate or other social/kinship distinctions. The nature of the ceremonies and feasts in these two civic contexts suggests distinct but parallel modes of interaction and expressions of sociopolitical identity in the early city.

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